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DOM QUENTIN'S MEMOIR ON THE TEXT OF THE VULGATE

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IN 1907, His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII appointed a Commission to revise and re-edit the text of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, known as the Vulgate and accepted by the Roman Church as its standard text of Holy Scripture. The undertaking was assigned, most appropriately, to the Benedictine Order, which from the days of Cassiodorus to those of Mabillon and from Mabillon to the present time has a record of scholarly achievement that for depth and continuity no other organization, sacred or secular, can match. Far-reaching plans were formulated, and a veritable laboratory of textual research was established at the Benedictine monastery of St. Anselm on the Aventine. The methods employed for listing and assorting the manuscripts and for securing collations and photographs are described in two reports, entitled "The Revision of the Vulgate," published at St. Anselm's in 1909 and 1911. The present writer had the pleasure of visiting the monastery in 1912, under the guidance of the learned Abbot, now Cardinal, Gasquet. An imposing amount of material had already at that time been collected, but the stupendous character of the undertaking hardly promised definite results, certainly not a final and authoritative text, within the limits of the present generation. And yet Dom Quentin, to whom the task of editing the text was assigned in 1907, has succeeded after nearly fifteen years of unremitting toil, in presenting a new survey of the history of the text of the Vulgate and a precise method for determining

its original form.¹ The goal at which he has aimed is a text² "d'une limpidité parfaite," determined on the basis of minute collations, with all the significant readings neatly and completely presented in an apparatus criticus of moderate compass, and evaluated by a sure principle, "une règle de fer." He anticipates some criticism of his method, and makes plain that it represents his personal conviction rather than, as yet, the judgment of the Pontifical Commission. The text of the Vulgate falls into several parts, according to the manuscripts available. The present volume is devoted to the Octateuch. Whether or not the application of an iron law has resulted in a text of crystal clarity, every reader will agree that Dom Quentin's studies contain an extraordinary wealth of information, that they pave a much more solid way to the real text than has ever been laid before, and that they suggest a novel method of grouping the manuscripts, which deserves the attention not only of biblical scholars but of anybody who would edit a text.³

The author begins with a brief description of the important manuscripts and editions. He then presents a complete apparatus criticus for certain selected chapters, one from each of the books of the Octateuch, which serve to illustrate his method and its result. He next reviews the earliest printed editions and the first attempts at a critical recension of the text, and describes the various Pontifical Commissions of the sixteenth century, resulting in the Sixtine and Clementine editions of 1590 and 1592. There follows an exposition of the "règle de fer," based on a cleverly constructed model text, with its copies and the family groups into which they fall. The

¹ *Mémoire sur L'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate* (Collectanea Biblica Latina, Vol. VI) par Dom Henri Quentin. Rome and Paris, 1922.

² *Ibid.*, p. ix.

³ Besides the misprints noted by Burkitt (*Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV (1923), pp. 406 ff.), the following should be added to the list of errata on p. xi. P. 105: I have not accessible Estienne's edition of 1528, but hardly think it would have (unless as misprint) 'contuleremus'; p. 182, l. 29, read 'matériel'; p. 291, l. 8, read 'al' (not 'at'); p. 427, l. 36, read 'VIII-IX'; p. 453, l. 5, read 'trois'; p. 463, l. 34, read 'eius'; p. 463, l. 39, read 'littéralisme'; p. 486, l. 30, read 'לְאִשׁוֹ'; p. 511, l. 26, read 'pour cette'; p. 512, l. 14, read 'n'ont'; l. 33, read 'l'essemble des.' I will refer to Dr. Burkitt's article as 'J.T.S.'

method thus attested is applied to the variants in the selected chapters of the Octateuch.

Of the entire number of manuscripts of the Vulgate (over 650), from 150 to 200 contain parts of the Old Testament. Of these the author has examined or discussed some 70, of which 35 are earlier than the 11th century. He does not intend to present an exhaustive account of the chief manuscripts, yet enough is given to suggest "une petite paléographie de la Vulgate."⁴ Nearly all the 35 manuscripts are illustrated with at least one facsimile apiece; the reproductions are not particularly good, but are none the less of use. In this assemblage of 35 manuscripts, large enough, it would seem, to cover the entire field, three main groups are discovered. Other groups are shown to depend on them, and at their head stand three of the most ancient manuscripts, Amiatinus, Turonensis, Ottonianus, from the testimony of which, in virtually all important cases, the original reading may, according to Dom Quentin, be determined. The readings of the Hebrew text and of the LXX are invoked only occasionally; for the goal is the Latin version of St. Jerome and not the version that a modern critic might wish he had made.

The text as thus constituted is arranged, in the fashion known to have been favored by St. Jerome, *per cola et commata*. A specimen chapter is presented with a triple apparatus, one part containing the readings of the three major manuscripts, which establish the text, another part showing the readings of all the important manuscripts and editions, whereby we see the history of the text, and a third part, in which the different systems found in the manuscripts for dividing the text into sections are recorded. At the end is a convenient summary of the entire work. Nothing could be more orderly, or more thorough. The reader who contents himself with skimming the introduction, turning the pages, and perusing the summary, may well gather the impression that the last word has been spoken on the text, at least in the Octateuch, of St. Jerome's translation. But if one penetrates beneath the surface, a host of doubts arise.

⁴ P. ix.

I

THE EARLY EDITIONS AND THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSIONS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The opening sections of the work are beyond reproach — “un modèle d'exposition,” says a brother Benedictine, “sobre, claire, et convaincante.”⁵ Dom Quentin shows conclusively that the editions from 1450 to 1511, which some have supposed to be descended from manuscripts no longer extant, were on the contrary, with two insignificant exceptions,⁶ dependent on the first of them, the Bible of Forty-two Lines. This, in turn, derives from a late and inferior type of text, which was constructed from various sources in the 13th century and was widely circulated in the 15th. The problem is greatly simplified by the elimination of all this matter; such an achievement alone is enough to give the present volume a high rank.⁷

The history of the criticism of the text began with the edition of Gadolo in 1495, and in the century, or almost a century, intervening between this date and the Sixtine Edition of 1590, more attempts than one were made to revise the text with the help of some of the earlier manuscripts. The editions of Castello, 1511, Cardinal Ximenes, 1514, 1517 (an undertaking begun in 1502), Osiander and Petreius, 1527, are described. There is a most careful and entertaining treatment of the Bibles of Robert Estienne, 1528–1557. His recensions are appraised with absolute candor and deep respect. Estienne became a Protestant and the Sorbonne condemned his undertakings, but not at all because it feared or disapproved a scientific study of the text. It was Estienne's interpretations of the text that rightly got him into trouble. Moreover, despite his careful workmanship and his study of good manuscripts, his critical method is open to objection, since his ultimate criterion was the Hebrew text rather than the work of St. Jerome. Dom

⁵ Dom de Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXV (1923), p. [72]. I will refer to this article as ‘R. B.’

⁶ P. 94.

⁷ As Burkitt points out (*J. T. S.*, p. 407), this result is not new, but it has nowhere been set forth in such detail.

Quentin's defence of the action of the Sorbonne is tolerant, learned, and unanswerable. He gives the palm for true science to Gobelinus Laridius, a scholar about whom almost nothing seems to be known, except that his edition appeared at Cologne in 1530.

One name is missing from this otherwise complete survey, that of Aldus Manutius the elder. That greatest of printers, as we know from a letter of 1501,⁸ included a polyglot edition of Holy Scripture, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, among his great designs. One solitary trial page, preserved today in the Bibliothèque Nationale, apparently is all that he finished.⁹ Had he been able to anticipate Cardinal Ximenes in the execution of this work as he did in the planning of it, the whole history of the Vulgate might have been different. For Aldus's mission, as he conceived it, was not merely to present readable texts in a clear and beautifully informal style, but to preserve tradition, to start with the witness of the best manuscripts, and to intrude as few conjectural emendations as possible. His chief concern was to save the ancients from their friends — the professional critics.¹⁰ Just what manuscripts he would have secured is of course a question. At all events, some mention should have been made of his plans.

The Council of Trent in 1546 not only prescribed the use of the Vulgate but decreed that the text should be printed *quam emendatissime*. A new and authoritative edition was thus demanded, and the University of Louvain undertook the task. There resulted the fruitful labors of Hentenius and Luc de Bruges, the various Plantin Bibles (1565 etc.), and finally the Louvain Bible of 1583. The work of Estienne was utilized with profit, and with discretion, by both Hentenius and Luc de Bruges; in general, though the Bible of 1583 was characterized by a return to the readings of the Incunabula Bibles, its text

⁸ To Conrad Celtes, to whom he says: "Vetus et novum Instrumentum graece, latine et hebraice nondum impressi, sed parturio." The letter is printed in A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*,² 1825, III, p. 274. See also A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et L'Hellénisme à Venise*, 1875, p. 180.

⁹ A facsimile is given by Renouard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 44.

¹⁰ See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), pp. 138 ff.

is substantially that of Estienne. As this Louvain Bible furnished the basis for the Sixtine revision, Estienne enjoyed a notable revenge.

The history of the Pontifical Commissions from 1546 to 1590, remarks Dom Quentin with a certain boldness, well-nigh lies outside his subject. It forms an interesting chapter in the history of the Vulgate, but contains no record of advance in the criticism of the text. This lamentable result, however, is due to no lack of activity or scholarship on the part of the Commissions themselves. The Benedictines of Monte Cassino collated, in their monastery, the edition of Gryphius (1550) with twelve of their ancient manuscripts. Though these, unhappily, cannot be identified today,¹¹ and may have altogether disappeared,¹² the collation was made with such accuracy that Dom Quentin is sure¹³ that all these manuscripts represented classes already well known, and may therefore be excluded from the indispensable sources of the text. Here, then, is another noteworthy work of simplification performed by Dom Quentin.

The materials amassed by the monks of Monte Cassino were accessible to the members of the Commissions of Popes Pius V, Sixtus V, and Clement VIII. There were eminent scholars on these boards, and they worked in a spirit of freedom. If the work progressed slowly at first, it was checked not by authority, but by diversity of opinion among the critics. Many manuscripts were available besides the Cassinian collections. Cardinal Sirlet secured a collation of the Amiatinus, and among the

¹¹ Dom Quentin refers (p. 155) to a list, drawn up not long after 1561, of Bible manuscripts (saec. VIII–XV) possessed by the Monastery; see *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, I (1873), pp. XCIII–XCV. The use of palaeographical terms (*litteris longobardicis*, *litteris gallicis* or *antiquis*) and the modern method of indicating the dates (*circa Annum Domini septingentesimum*, *Anno ottingentesimo quinquagesimo*, etc.) are noteworthy. The document is of importance for the history of palaeography in the Renaissance and should be added to my treatment of that matter in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, pp. 83 ff.

¹² Dom Quentin (p. 156) states that Monte Cassino has today only seven complete Bibles, none of which is written in Beneventan or Cassinian script. But of course that was not necessarily the case with all — or even any — of the manuscripts designated in the list as written "*litteris longobardicis*." See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, pp. 84 f.

¹³ P. 159.

manuscripts used by the Sixtine Commission was the *Ottobonianus*. Cardinal Caraffa, the president of the commission, proposed a large number of corrections, which, had they been accepted, would have resulted in a text based in general on the *Amiatinus* and vastly superior to that which is printed today. On Sixtus V rests the blame for rendering this careful preparation of no avail. This pontiff, who had produced an edition of St. Ambrose, called by Dom Quentin ¹⁴ “*la plus mauvaise des éditions existantes, un chef-d’œuvre de l’Ars critica qui, aux leçons des manuscrits, substitue les conjectures les moins fondées,*” hurried the work of the collaborators, and threw away most of their gains. The Sixtine Edition appeared on August 27, 1590, and was suppressed by the Cardinals on September 5. Dom Quentin presents a lively account of the proceedings. The energetic pope, while rejecting the readings proposed by Cardinal Caraffa, had introduced emendations of his own, and, like Marcion, emended rather with the sword than with the pen. His rashness seems indirectly responsible for the caution observed in the ensuing revision under Clement VII (1592), in which Caraffa’s suggestions were again rejected and a still closer return was made to the Bible of Louvain. The Clementine Edition has been the standard text of the Vulgate from that day to this.

This part of Dom Quentin’s work is completed by a brief but penetrating survey of critical work on the text of the Vulgate since 1592. Trojans and Tyrians are treated with the same impartiality. Vercellone, Wordsworth and White, Corssen, Dom de Bruyne appear as confederates in one and the same undertaking.¹⁵ The highest sort of praise is given to the well-known work of the Protestant Samuel Berger (“*Histoire de la Vulgate,*” 1893). No Protestant — no infidel — could have written a more judicial account, provided that he were equipped with Dom Quentin’s learning. This portion of the work should be read with particular attention by those who fear that Catholicism and science are irreconcilable terms.

¹⁴ P. 181.

¹⁵ Mention might have been made of the plans of Firmin-Didot for a new polyglot; see his *Alde Manuce*, p. 180.

II

DOM QUENTIN'S NEW METHOD OF CLASSIFYING
MANUSCRIPTS

Despite his admiration of Berger's work, Dom Quentin finds the latter's method in some respects at fault, particularly because the classes of manuscripts which Berger constructs are determined by insufficient material. That is undoubtedly so. With far more abundant data at his disposal, amassed, it would seem, with accuracy,¹⁶ and with infinite patience, Dom Quentin subjects the evidence of the manuscripts to an altogether novel test. The host of them does not discourage him. Though their interrelations suggest, as to Plenkers,¹⁷ rather a tangle of yarn than a family tree, he does not, like Magnus,¹⁸ assume a plurality of archetypes, a confusion worse confounded, or like Bédier,¹⁹ renounce the battle as hopeless. He attacks the foe not *en masse* but "in little groups of three"; it is a warfare of attrition, a nibbling at the enemy's line.

Let us take three manuscripts, a supposed A, B, and C. Their interrelations which Dom Quentin finds significant are:

¹⁶ Burkitt, J. T. S., p. 413, is disposed to question the accuracy of Dom Quentin's collation. He points out one or two misprints and one important case of uncertainty, such as will occur in any work containing so many details; but that is not enough, it seems to me, to arouse any suspicion as to the general accuracy of Dom Quentin's work.

¹⁷ 'Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln,' in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* I, 3 (1906), p. 50. He cites Corssen for the like opinion of the interrelations of the manuscripts of the Vulgate.

¹⁸ In his critical edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Berlin, 1914, p. ix. See the writer's review in *Classical Philology*, XI (1916), pp. 51 ff.

¹⁹ In his introduction to "Le Lai de L'Ombre par Jean Renart," Paris, 1913. He declares (p. xxvi) that the general tendency to find two classes in the manuscripts of a given author is a kind of editorial myth — a Kantian category, I suppose, like space and time. Classical scholars, incidentally, will not recognize any such law in editorial practice. M. Bédier gives up the idea of classifying the manuscripts, for the reason that one can argue well for several methods of classification (p. xli). His own method is to choose what seems the best manuscript as a basis and to use the others eclectically. This is a method of despair. One may be forced to it when the manuscripts of a tradition are hopelessly crossed, as may be the case with the texts with which M. Bédier deals. But to announce such a principle in general terms, as he appears to do, cannot be regarded as other than unfortunate.

- (1) when A differs from B and C = $A < B C$
- (2) when A and C differ from B = $A > B < C$
- (3) when A and B differ from C = $A B > C$ ²⁰

To test his formulae by a model case, where all the facts are known, Dom Quentin takes a paragraph of a dozen lines from a life of St. Anastasia and invents a history of its text. He calls the correct text A, and supposes that 21 copies (B-Z) descended from this text, B, C, D, and E are copied directly, each making certain errors, which he describes, and each generating a family of copies, some of which cross with one another. Error accumulates with each step, so that the tail-manuscript, Z, is most heavily laden with transgressions, original and originated. Thus knowing all the parts of this little genealogy — for he has created them all — and the answers to all its problems, Dom Quentin can apply his formulae and be sure whether they work.

He starts, therefore, with his text, with the variants all included in an apparatus criticus, and with nothing more; he is seeking to discover the classes of the manuscripts. In accordance with his method, he selects three manuscripts at random, F, K, and O, and studies their agreements and disagreements. These details, incidentally, it takes some time to collect; there are 54 variants in all, with 21 manuscripts in each case. His result is:

$$F < K O = 10$$

$$F > K < O = 11$$

$$F K > O = 5$$

What does this mean? To me it means nothing, unless I know whether the 10 coincidences of K O are in errors or incorrect readings — and so with the other data. I will return to this point — the most vital point in the whole consideration — later. I will not endeavor to interpret further the above results,

²⁰ These symbols are a trifle misleading. One would not infer from (2) that A and C agree with each other, and yet they do by Dom Quentin's supposition ("le second témoin est isolé, contre le premier et le troisième qui sont d'accord"). There is also no apparent reason for using < to denote the agreement of B C against A and > to denote that of A B against C. I should express the formulae thus: $A > B C$; $B > A C$; $C > A B$. To avoid confusion, however, I will employ Dom Quentin's symbols throughout this paper.

since Dom Quentin goes no further with them, but explains that our search should be directed to a series of three in which one of the members is never found in disagreement with a common reading of the other two. The formula would be $A < B C = 0$. It is this zero that the critic is patiently to hunt. How long it would take, by the method of choosing any three manuscripts at random, is hard to prophesy. We might not find it at the first try, and even to build up one of these formulae takes time. When we get it, it has various meanings. First, if it frequently appears in comparisons of any one manuscript with different sets of two, that manuscript is probably the archetype. Thus if we have (p. 219):

$$A < B D = 0 \quad A < G K = 0 \quad A < B E = 0 \quad A < F O = 0$$

the presence of the zero puts A in an isolated position and tends to show that the other manuscripts paired with it are not connected one with the other. For the formulae mean: "There are no cases in which B and D, etc., agree against A." This is sound doctrine, for agreement against the archetype on the part of two descendants from it could only be agreement in error. If we are lucky enough to find these four formulae in any text-tradition, we may rest assured that all the other manuscripts derive from A.

In the second place, the zero is important in determining the succession of manuscripts in the same family. After discovering A, let us compare it with a branch that descends from it. We find, as a result of random experimentation:

$$A < B H = 7 \quad A > B < H = 0 \quad A B > H = 3$$

The use of the zero in this case is to point out the intermediate manuscript in this set of three. This result also is certain, whether the figures stand for errors or for good readings. For the second or intermediary manuscript will agree with the third or lowest in the errors which itself commits and hands down ($A < B H = 7$). It will agree with the first or leading manuscript against the third in the cases where the latter copy has introduced errors ($A B > H = 3$), but in no case could the first and the third manuscripts agree in good readings against

the second (for the lowest copy could not be better than the second, from which it immediately comes); nor could they contain common errors not in the second, for that manuscript would then be better than the first. Therefore, if we know that A, B, and H are of the same family, the formula $A > B < H = 0$ surely informs us that B is intermediary between A and H. It follows that if we test K, the remaining member of the group, and ascertain that $B < H \ K = 3$, $B < H < K = 0$, $B \ H > K = 4$, we have found the order of these manuscripts to be B, H, K, and therefore that of the entire family to be A, B, H, K.

In the third place, Dom Quentin's zero has a new meaning when we compare three manuscripts of different families (p. 221) and find these formulae: $B < C \ K = 0$ $B > C < K = 15$ $B \ C > K = 6$. The first of these means that as B and C are of different branches (K belonging to that of B), C and K could never agree in a good reading not contained in B, for all good readings of K would have to come from B. They could not agree in error against B, for if they did, they would be of the same family or represent a mixture of families. The fact is plain enough, but its significance, as stated by Dom Quentin, most questionable. This zero, he declares,²¹ indicates the manuscript which is nearest the archetype of the two families and which serves as an intermediary between them. Now in what sense B is nearer the archetype is hard to make out. It has committed, by supposition (p. 214), 7 errors in copying, whereas C has 8, but both manuscripts are equally near the archetype, because both are direct copies of it; it lay before the scribe of either, whatever the nature of the copy that either made. And surely it is erroneous to call B an intermediary between the archetype and CK, for if so, C would descend at either first or second hand from B; on the contrary, it is copied directly from the archetype.

When we come to apply the test by little groups of three, a cloud of uncertainty arises. Suppose we start with a batch of manuscripts, with which those just discussed are included, and, without knowing anything of their character, try to group

²¹ P. 221: "Dans ces cas le zéro indique le manuscrit le plus proche de l'archétype des deux familles et qui sert d'intermédiaire entre elles."

them. Suppose our hunt for the zero is at last rewarded by the formula last given, where $B < C$ $K = 0$. What are we to infer? On the analogy of the first instance examined ($A < B$ $D = 0$, etc.) we might think that we had found the archetype in B, and devote our energies to discover other such cases. But it would be as rational to conclude that B, C, and K were members of the same family, B being the intermediary copy between C and K; incidentally, if these two manuscripts seemed to be of the same age, what would prevent our making the order K, B, C? As it happens, however, B, C, and K are not all of the same family. The zero tells us nothing new about them, though we have learned something important about the zero — namely that its discovery involves us in ambiguities. It is something of a relief to have Dom Quentin inform us that when manuscripts of three different families are compared, the zero never appears. However, the converse is not always true, that when we find no zero, the three manuscripts are of different classes, for one or more of them may be mixed: Dom Quentin has himself given an example of such a case (p. 221, K, P, X).

My first feeling, therefore, as I sit down before the apparatus criticus of Dom Quentin's model text and attempt to apply the iron rule, is that I do not know how to proceed. Even if the gods are kind enough to lead me to a zero, I shall not know what to do with it. I am no mathematician, and Dom Quentin must be. He is enabled to work out his stemma, or to indicate how a large part of it is worked out (pp. 222 ff.), and he finally presents (p. 227), in a table as impressive as a *carmen figuratum*, the agreements of each and every manuscript with each and every other. But I cannot help thinking that it would take an enormous amount of time to arrive at the truth in this fashion, and that some of his success in discovering it is due to his previous knowledge of the goal at which he aimed.

Let us spend a few moments with Dom Quentin's model text and endeavor to ascertain the families in the old-fashioned way.²² He divides the paragraph on St. Anastasia into fifteen

²² As set forth, for instance, by O. Stählin, *Editionstechnik*², 1914, pp. 36 ff., a work to which Dom de Bruyne refers with approval in his article on Dom Quentin's studies (R. B., p. [73]).

sections, of which I copy only the first three, with the apparatus:²³

(1) *Anastasia primo diram et immitem custodiam a viro suo Publio passa est.* (2) *in qua tamen a Chrysogono, confessore Christi, multum consolata et confortata* (3) *est. Deinde a praefecto Illyrici in gravissima aequae et diutina custodia macerata* (4) *est.*

(1) 1 *diram*] *duram* STVYZ 2 *suo*] *eius* N *suo* om. DFG 3 *publio*] *publicio* VYZ

(2) 4 *christi*] om. CLMNSTV 5 *consolata*] *consolata est* BHKX

(3) 6 *est*] om. BHKX 7 *deinde*] *dein* FLMNRSTVYZ *dehinc* KX 8 *illyrici*] *illyrico* CX 9 *gravissimam* KX 10 *aequae et*] *atque* DFGLMNPQRSTVYZ 11 *diutina*] *diutinam* KX *diuturna* EOPQRYZ 12 *custodiam* KX

The first thing for which I look in the apparatus is the presence of errors common to all the manuscripts, and I find, after a very few minutes' search among the 54 readings, that there are no common errors. Our 21 manuscripts, then, do not descend from one faulty archetype. What are their classes? I may assume that the approximate date of most of the manuscripts is given, and in some cases, their provenience; the earliest manuscripts are those at the head of the alphabet, the latest at the end. Thus in the first variant, *duram*, I discover a nest of later and presumably inferior manuscripts, STVYZ. In No. 2, *eius* is the eccentricity of N, which stands half-way along in the tradition, while the omission of *suo* binds together three early manuscripts, DFG. No. 3, *publicio*, shows that the late group STVYZ can now be subdivided, VYZ presumably giving us the dregs of the tradition. No. 4, the omission of *christi*, associates one of the earliest manuscripts, C, with LMN of the middle tradition, and also with STV of the late manuscripts. As C and D are both early — let us say of the ninth century — I will tentatively regard CLMN and DFG as two of the major groups, from the first of which STVYZ, apparently with some mixing of their texts, later descended. With No. 6, I discover still another early manuscript, B, and three later manuscripts, HKX, associated with it; however, I will

²³ I have not followed Dom Quentin in including A with the other manuscripts. It is the archetype or text itself, which is never thus specified in the apparatus in any editions with which I am familiar. The 21 manuscripts devised by Dom Quentin run from B to Z, excepting I, J, and U.

treat this instance cautiously, waiting confirmation or disproof later, seeing that the omission of *est* may easily have been made by two or more scribes independently.

By this time my curiosity is aroused with regard to the earliest manuscripts B, C, and D. I glance through the apparatus to see by what kind of errors they may be connected. At No. 11, I find a significant error, *diuturna*, committed by still another early manuscript, E, and a number of later books, OPQRYZ (an instance that increases my suspicion that manuscripts YZ are badly mixed), and I therefore consider the readings of E along with those of B, C, and D. A search of not more than ten minutes reveals the astounding bit of luck that these four early manuscripts are connected by no common errors whatsoever. I have therefore four main classes deriving independently from the archetype — something unexampled, to the best of my knowledge, in the manuscript tradition of any text. If my aim is merely to restore the correct text, the work can be done perfectly in a quarter of an hour by an amanuensis. One has merely to take the testimony of the majority of the witnesses against the one offender.

If, however, I wish to record in a family tree the complete history of the text, I examine reading after reading in the fashion already described, learning more and more about the character of each codex as I proceed, and filling out the groups with more and more certainty. One of the last things to be revealed is the total depravity of codex Z; it clings to Y all the way to No. 51, when, by writing *iesum* for *christum*, it sinks into the nethermost pit of inferiority. The only relationship that I cannot make out by this method is that between manuscripts L and M. They are evidently related closely, so closely that I cannot distinguish them. The reason is that by Dom Quentin's hypothesis, M copied L without making any mistakes at all; I suppose that for the sake of completeness it is well to imagine the existence of a perfect copy, though I have not encountered such among the manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

In short, Dom Quentin's new method impresses me as complicated, uncertain, and inordinately long. I am in a mess of

figures, cheered by no human prospect. And even though the procedure is undoubtedly mathematical, I cannot be sure of a Q. E. D. at the end. I am left with a feeling of discouragement, as of one who has tried patiently to open a door with a wrong key. Perhaps I do not know how to use it. The method impresses me as unsafe and bewildering. The mind of the critic is divorced from the text; he is occupied with calculations in which words are counted but not weighed. Verily, it is the quest of a zero. But in the old-fashioned analysis, mathematics hardly figures at all. The process is attended by discovery, certainty, and delight.

III

APPLICATION OF THE NEW METHOD

But Dom Quentin would doubtless reply that his new method is not intended primarily for the delight of its user. He is seeking, and he thinks that he has found, a clue to the maze of textual interrelations that will guide us, though blindfold, straight to the centre. We are not to reason about variants, or to seek for design in the tangled skein of yarn. We abandon these cares and trust the method. And though the calculations are long and arduous, it is childish to complain of them if they solve the problem.

Let us see, then, how the new principle works in its application to the text of the Vulgate. We will examine the chief manuscripts in little groups of three. We do not start altogether at random, however, for certain families have been partly determined through the labors of Dom Quentin's predecessors, and are now very much better known through his own. Two of these are the recensions of Theodulf and Alcuin, both produced at the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth. There is a Spanish group, a Cassinian, an Italian, and, in the 13th century, the group associated with the University of Paris. The first three are those with which we are ultimately concerned, since the Cassinian texts derive from the Spanish (p. 358), the Italian is a composite of the Alcuinian, Theodulfian, and Spanish traditions (p. 377), while that of the

University is similarly conflated (p. 388). By removing these later groups from the list of genuine authorities, Dom Quentin continues the work of simplifying the editor's task that he has already illustrated in two important respects.²⁴ His final secret I have already betrayed, namely that the entire tradition depends on three ancient books, which head the three main classes. At the head of the Theodulfians stands the Ottobonianus (Vat. ott. lat. 66) saec. VII. The leader of the Spanish group is the Turonensis (Par. nouv. acq. lat. 2334) saec. VII (or even saec. VI). The Alcuinians derive from the Amiatinus, saec. VII, the famous codex that journeyed from Northumbria to Italy, eventually reaching the Cistercian Abbey at Monte Amiata and now treasured among the *cimelia* of the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence. Dom Quentin builds up his estimate of these ancient books inductively. For the sake of clearness, I would have the reader know his ultimate objective at the start.

1. *The Bible of Theodulf*

Theodulf, Bishop of Orléans, died in 821, at some time before which date he had completed a revision of the Vulgate. The manuscripts in which this recension is found are the following.

Paris. lat. 9380 (= *Theo*) saec. VIII-IX (according to Dom Quentin). The pages at the beginning and the end, inscribed with poems of Theodulf explanatory of the edition, and the pages containing the Psalter and the Gospels are colored purple, the poems being written in letters of gold and the Psalms and the Gospels in letters of silver. After the text of the Scriptures various appropriate pieces are added, including the Chronographia of St. Isidore and the Speculum attributed to St. Augustine. The book was kept at the Cathedral of Orléans at least till the 11th century; in the 17th it passed into the hands of the famous collector De Mesmes, and later made its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

A companion copy (= *Anie*) has from time immemorial been one of the treasures of the Cathedral of Puy. Its contents and style of execution are well-nigh identical with those of *Theo*.

²⁴ See above, pp. 200, 202.

British Museum add. 24142 (= *Hub*), formerly belonging to the Abbey of St. Hubert, is defective both at the beginning and the end, so that we cannot tell whether it originally contained accompanying matter found in *Theo* and *Anic*. The page-size is almost identical with that of the other two manuscripts.²⁵ The pages are fewer,²⁶ for the reason that *Hub* has three columns on the page instead of two. All three manuscripts have 62 lines on a page.²⁷ The script, on which I will add a word later, seems very similar in all three manuscripts. They may well have been the product of the same scriptorium.

Paris. lat. 11937 (= *Gep*) was formerly in the library of Saint Germain des Prés. It contains 179 foll., 276×225 mm., written with two columns of 61–64 lines; it is only in this last detail that the book corresponds with the style of *Theo* and *Anic*. The script, according to Dom Quentin (p. 251), is of the same style, though less fine. This statement, if I may judge by the facsimile on p. 255, is only generally true. *Gep*, it seems to me, is a later book, perhaps as late as the end of the century — Berger called it saec. IX–X.²⁸ But I cannot agree with Berger that *Hub* was written in the same period; the latter book, it seems to me, is not far removed in time, or place, from *Theo* and *Anic* — I will attempt a more precise estimate later. *Gep*, like *Hub*, is defective at beginning and end.

The last manuscript is Bernensis A 9 (= *Bern*). It has 329 foll., 445×350 mm., 2 coll. of 54 lines. The text of the Vulgate is preserved at the beginning, but there are some gaps, and the book is defective at the end. There is supplementary matter, including an account of the bishops of Vienne, but the pieces included in *Theo* and *Anic* seem to be lacking. The script is assigned by Dom Quentin on the authority of Delisle to the

²⁵ *Theo*, 320×230 mm.; *Anic*, 325×235; *Hub*, 325×245. The measurements are those of Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 390, 405, 412. All references to Berger are to this work.

²⁶ 248; against 349, *Theo*, and 348, *Anic*.

²⁷ *Anic* has "de 62 à 63" (Berger, p. 412).

²⁸ According to Delisle (Berger, p. 178), the scribe may have had before him either one of the two preceding Bibles or a copy like them. It can be shown, I believe, that the latter supposition is the more probable. Berger believed that *Theo* is the immediate ancestor of *Gep* — a view that we will examine later.

tenth century; Berger (p. 377) ascribed it to the eleventh. According to the latter scholar, with whom Burkitt agrees,²⁹ the book is only partly Theodulfian in character.

We are now ready for the test. Dom Quentin takes as a basis 91 important variants from his selected chapters, with a little preface on the nature of important variants.³⁰ In applying the iron rule, however, we are not to regard the character of the variant; the test works for good readings and errors alike.

We might expect, after the model given on pp. 219 ff., that a list of formulae would be presented in which some one manuscript was found, like A in the model, to score a zero so often in combination with the other manuscripts of the group that we could regard it as the archetype. Possibly the lucky zero could not be caught. At any rate, another test awaits us here, previously explained by Dom Quentin (p. 229), which affects manuscripts known to be of the same group. In the interests of clearness, I have postponed explaining it until now.

Taking the family ABHKX in his model text, he endeavors to place K in the group. He notes:

(1) the agreement of K with all the other manuscripts of the group (= 35);

(2) the agreement of K with *almost* all of the group, except in the following cases (the numbers are those assigned to the variants in the model text): 5 A; 6 A; 8 X; 16 A; 18 X; 21 X; 22 AX; 28 X; 31 A; 42 X; 46 A; 49 A; 52 AB; 53 AB; 54 AB;

(3) the disagreement of K with *almost* all the rest of the group, the exceptions being: 7 X; 9 X; 11 X; 12 X;

(4) the disagreement of K with all the rest of the group (no cases).

Among these results, Dom Quentin finds (2) and (3) especially interesting; why he says nothing of (4), which is sufficiently remarkable, I cannot understand.³¹ He is impressed with the curious double relation of K to X; for (a) when K disagrees with all the other manuscripts, it agrees with X, and (b) when it agrees with almost all the others, it is with X that it disagrees (not always, but "un certain nombre de fois"). He concludes

²⁹ J. T. S., p. 209.

³⁰ Pp. 231 ff.

³¹ See below, p. 216.

that K is an intermediary between X and the rest of the group, as it is actually shown to be in the stemma (p. 214).

Let us look at this test somewhat closely. I will take advantage, as Dom Quentin does, of the actual facts of the tradition as given in his stemma. First of all, Dom Quentin has committed the fundamental error of including A in the group. A is the archetype of all the classes; it is the perfect text. A descendant from that text is perfect in many places, but what constitutes it as a member of a family is the presence of significant errors which are not in A itself; the family starts not with A but with B. The readings of A here recorded are the good readings preserved by B and its descendants in cases where other classes have gone astray. But the mistakes of those classes have not the slightest bearing on the character of class BHKX.

If, then, we eliminate A, we have left in the different tabulations: (1) agreement of K with all the other manuscripts of the group: 2; 3; 5; 6; 9; 14. Now these, as the apparatus shows, are precisely the errors of B, transmitted to its descendants. Of course, then, they are all in K. If we wish to add the *good* readings common to all members of the class, we must specify every other word of the text besides these — a palpable waste of time.

(2) The exceptions to the agreement of K with *almost* all the other manuscripts become, after the elimination of A: 8 X; 18 X; 21 X; 28 X; 42 X; 52 B; 53 B; 54 B. The meaning of this list is clear. Nos. 52, 53, and 54 are errors committed by H in copying B. K, of course, received these errors from H, and is therefore in disagreement with B. The remaining cases of disagreement with X are all of them the readings taken over by X from C.³²

Now it is obvious that tabulations of this sort have no meaning unless the figures represent the *characteristic errors* of the different manuscripts of the group. Despite what Dom Quentin claims for his iron rule, it cannot be applied in the present case, without a consideration of the character of the readings

³² X deserves considerable praise for making no errors of its own. Its deviations from the tradition of BHK consist entirely in its borrowings from C.

no less than of their number. Furthermore, it may be added, the situation presented in this imaginary family of manuscripts is extremely rare. One cannot point to many examples of four manuscripts following in a direct line of descent.³³ I therefore find the fourth tabulation (the failure of K to differ from all the rest of the group in any case) highly significant — not less so than the second and the third, for it indicates the direct descent of X from K.³⁴ The same will be true of B and H; for if B contained certain errors not in H, the latter manuscript would not depend directly on B, but derive from the common source of these manuscripts. Consequently, I would venture to claim the discovery of a new zero and one of some importance — if we ever can find instances of its existence.

In fine, if we discover a manuscript that, like K, agrees now with later books against the earlier ones, and now with these against the later ones, and if it never deviates from the readings of the entire group, we may well suspect that it is an intermediary. But this we cannot know without examining the character of its readings.

With these principles in mind, we may follow Dom Quentin's examination of the Theodulfian group (= Θ). He begins with what is admittedly the latest of all its members, the Bernensis. It has likewise been suspected that this book is not a pure specimen of the class.³⁵ This is not Dom Quentin's estimate (pp. 251 ff.), as we shall see. He finds (1) that *Bern* agrees 36 (really 35) times with the entire group;³⁶ (2) that it agrees with *almost* all the group 6 times; (3) that it disagrees with *almost* all the group 5 times; (4) that it disagrees with all the group 9 times. Here are 55 variants out of the 75 — I assume that the other

³³ A clear case of three in a row is furnished by MSS. Par. lat. 7794 (saec. IX), Bern. 136 (saec. XII), and Par. lat. 1479 (saec. XV) of Cicero's 'Cum senatui gratias egit' and other orations. See Peterson's preface (pp. vii ff.) to his edition of these orations (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, 1910).

³⁴ To be exact, Dom Quentin should allow for a copy between K and X, in which certain C readings were inserted, between the lines or in the margins, whence they were put into the text by X.

³⁵ See above, p. 214.

³⁶ As always, Dom Quentin's results are based solely on his 91 select readings from the entire text of the Octateuch. For Θ there are but 75, since those in the chapter of Genesis, which is lacking in Hub, are not considered.

20 are not contained in *Bern*. Dom Quentin finds this evidence a manifest proof that *Bern* is a member of Θ . Perhaps it is, but the mere figures do not establish the fact. We should be told the character of these readings, and also be assured that there is no contradictory evidence in the text outside the slim amount contained in the selected chapters.

Another result "no less evident" is the special connection between *Bern* and *Hub*. That is proved, to Dom Quentin's satisfaction, by an application of the tests just examined.³⁷ In test (2), there are six cases in which *Bern* agrees with "almost all" of the Θ manuscripts; in five of these the manuscript with which it disagrees is *Hub*.³⁸ In test (3), *Bern* disagrees with "almost all" the group in five cases; in four of these, the manuscript with which it agrees is *Hub*. In test (4), *Bern* proves to be in disagreement with all the group nine times. This is the most weighty of the figures, and yet from what we have seen above (p. 216), we demand a zero in this place if *Bern* is an intermediary. We will return to the readings in (2) and (3) later.

For the moment, let us consider Dom Quentin's further attempts to prove *Bern* an intermediary between *Hub* and others in the group. Reverting to the kind of formulae that we have inspected above (p. 206), and starting in quest of the lucky zero, he finds: $Hub < Anic \ Bern = 10$, $Hub > Anic < Bern = 7$, $Hub Anic > Bern = 9$. It would not seem to the untutored eye as though the lucky zero had been found. But look closer! The 9 cases in which *Hub* and *Anic* agree against *Bern* are precisely the cases in which the reading of *Bern* is "isolé," or, in other words, these are either the individual errors of *Bern* or readings that it has taken from some other source. As they are, then, merely "isolated" readings, they may be discounted altogether. Our equation really reads:

$$Hub \ Anic > Bern = 0$$

³⁷ See above, pp. 214 ff.

³⁸ The fourth case, "74. Theo (isolé)" I do not understand. Here *Bern* reads 'has nationes' with Theo and all the other Θ manuscripts, and not 'nationes has,' which certain others have. "74" is apparently a misprint. It would have cost little space, and greatly saved the reader's time and patience, if the variants had been written out in these important cases.

It requires a bit of alchemy to achieve this result; we are getting if not *aliquid ex nihilo*, at least *ex aliquo nihil*. Dom Quentin adds that this rejection of the "témoignage des isolés" (p. 256) is a frequent occurrence in the application of his formulae. This seems an arbitrary proceeding; it would at least be well to hear what these solitary witnesses have to say. Instead, continuing with his examination of *Bern* he finds:

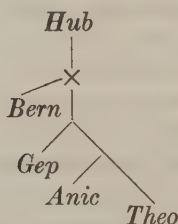
$$Bern < Theo \text{ } Anic = 19$$

$$Bern > Theo < Anic = 6$$

$$Bern \text{ } Theo > Anic = 2$$

Here it might be tempting to regard the readings of *Anic* as "isolated." They obviously are not,³⁹ but as they are "only two," the order of succession, determined "provisoirement," is *Bern*, *Anic*, *Theo*. *De minimis non curat lex*. We have enlarged our understanding of what zero means. It may shine through isolated figures, and through figures that are very small. Really, the iron rule is somewhat elastic.

The final result of such analyses is a stemma in which the conclusions of Berger are turned upside down (p. 257):



It is gratifying to see that *Bern* is put off on a side branch. Quite apart from the age of this manuscript, Dom Quentin has evidently found it difficult to explain how its 9 eccentric readings could fail to be transmitted to the manuscripts regarded as its descendants. Dom Quentin has really provided for the possibility that *Bern* is a mixed manuscript; whether it deserves so high a place on the stemma is another affair.

³⁹The two cases are Nos. 78 and 3. In 78, *Anic* agrees with *Hub*; in 3, with *Theo*¹ and *Bern*. If the apparatus (p. 236) is correct, the numerical reference must again be a misprint.

As we have found the art of hunting the zero increasingly elusive, it may now be well to examine the nature of some of the readings in question. But first let us consider the theory of Berger which Dom Quentin professes to have overthrown. Berger starts with the Orléans copy of Theodulf's recension (*Theo*), which from its elegance and its original provenience, might well seem the very copy prepared for Theodulf himself. A glance at certain features of the text and the ornamentation convinced Berger⁴⁰ of its Spanish character. Spanish influence at the time was of course not bounded by the Pyrenees; the original with which Theodulf started might well have been written in the south of France. Theodulf himself was a Spaniard,⁴¹ on whichever side of the Pyrenees he was born, and would naturally be interested in Spanish books. His basic text was, according to Berger, a rather old and rather inferior affair. As it antedates in character the Alcuinian recension, Berger describes it first. But though Theodulf may have begun his biblical studies as early as 798, or even 795, he worked at his edition with a copy of the Alcuinian Bible before his eyes, and introduced some of the Alcuinian variants. As Alcuin presented his new Bible to the Emperor in 801, that of Theodulf was finished between that time and 818, the date of his disgrace, or 821, the date of his death.

According to this theory, then, the source of Θ was a Spanish text, which Theodulf revised with the help of *Alc* and doubtless other sources. We shall later see that certain information supplied by Dom Quentin indicates the same hypothesis. According to him, however, the Ottobonianus is the ancestor of the group. Certain of its readings are clearly related to it, but a thorough study not only of the 91 test-variants but of the complete apparatus of the selected chapters convinces me that the Spanish group is even more closely related to Θ than is *Ott*, and that the theory that *Ott* is the immediate ancestor of the group can be amply refuted. I will not present this evidence, for the reason that Dom Quentin — not at this point but later

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146; Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), pp. 537 ff.

(p. 263) — admits both the Spanish and Alcuinian elements in Θ , and also the fact that not *Ott* itself but a related codex is the direct ancestor of the group (p. 519). I speak with hesitation out of an abundant ignorance of the facts of the tradition, but a supposition which would account for all the data that have come to my attention is the following.

Theodulf made himself a fair copy of some Spanish text. He collated it with *Alc* and other sources, putting the variants which he thought noteworthy either between the lines, or, preferably, in the margins. This is the mediaeval equivalent of a modern edition with an apparatus criticus, of which we have excellent examples in the copy of the "Regula Benedicti" prepared by the monks Grimald and Tatto for Reginbert of Reichenaue,⁴² and in the copy of Valerius Maximus revised by Lupus Servatus.⁴³ The text as thus prepared was furnished by Theodulf with certain helps to the reader, including St. Isidore's Chronographia and the Speculum attributed to St. Augustine. He likewise wrote two poems, one for the beginning and one for the end of his volume, in which he briefly summarizes the contents and character of the books of Holy Writ and likewise of the appended "helps." These are found in *Theo* and *Anic*. He also wrote two brief poems,⁴⁴ one for the front and one for the back cover of the book; in these he contrasts the glitter of the external adornment with the pure gold of the sacred contents. These poems are not on the covers of *Theo* or of *Anic* today, as both books were given new bindings in a later age, but the verses were copied from some source by Jacques Sirmond, S. J., to whom we owe the preservation of at least three-fourths of Theodulf's poetical works. Evidently an édition de luxe of the new Bible was prepared under the direction of Theodulf himself. I do not, however, agree with Berger that this very edition lies before us in *Theo*. Berger concludes with some hesitation, after a searching analysis, that *Anic* is a

⁴² See Traube, Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti, in Abhand. d. kgl. Akad. d. Wiss., III Cl., XXI, 3 (1898), pp. 631, 693, with facsimile (Pl. IV).

⁴³ See Lindsay in Classical Philology, IV (1909), pp. 113 ff., with facsimile.

⁴⁴ Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini I, 540 (ed. Dümmler).

direct copy of *Theo*. Yet he gives enough evidence⁴⁵ to show that the supposition of derivation from a common source is quite as possible. It may be confirmed, if I mistake not, by a comparison of the texts of the accompanying poems of Theodulf.⁴⁶ This indicates pretty clearly that both books are independent copies of the same original (Θ) from which *Hub* may also have been directly derived. The agreement in the use of purple and silver and gold on the part of *Theo* and *Anic* indicates that this embellishment was a feature of Θ . Perhaps, however, Θ was unadorned, but the same directions as to the ornamentation were given to the scribes of *Theo* and *Anic*, who worked at the same, or about the same, time. Again, it may be that the scribe of either book took the general style of decoration from the other, though drawing his text from Θ . It is a pity that the beginning and the end of *Hub* are no longer extant to show its relation in these matters to Θ . In one respect it may have been a truer copy; for its use of three columns instead of two is something of a Spanish trait.⁴⁷ The use of

⁴⁵ Pp. 171 ff.

⁴⁶ See Dümmler's edition, pp. 532 ff. Exclusive of insignificant spellings, there are 11 errors of *Theo* not found in *Anic*. Some of them might have been emended by *Anic* in the act of copying, but not, I think, the entire list. (Praefatio) 8 typica] typice; 54 agmina] acmina; 75 est positus] empositus; 89 humana] humane; 111 praeventos] preuentis; 116 At decimae] Ad decime; 130 sunt tres] sun tres; 161 Quumque] cumque; 168 tu] tum; 175 quae non causa] qua en clausa; 216 Nec] Haec. Similarly, there are 14 errors of *Anic* not found in *Theo*: (Praefatio = I) 32 Samariam] Samaria; 56 vehit] uenit; 85 hinc] om.; 104 laudansque] lausque; 157 mundana] mandana; 170 miro] mir; 187 quum] quam; 198 hac] ac; 210 omni] om. (Epilogus = II) 1 struxit] struxi; 21 fluvium] plurimum; poterit] poteris; 25 tempne] sperne; 36 et] it.

It would appear, at least in this brief stretch of text, that *Theo* is the more careful scribe. Some of his errors (I 89, 111, 116) are apparently due to mental confusion, induced by the attempt to memorize small sections of text. *Anic*, on the other hand, is more minute in his method; he copies words rather than clauses and syllables rather than words (I 32; II 21) — hence he is more prone to omit words and syllables (I 85, 104, 170, 210). The original copied by *Theo* and *Anic* (Θ or $\Theta^?$) was probably in rustic capitals, so often employed for poems in Carolingian Bibles (I 54, 56, 216; II 21). There were abbreviations here and there (I 75, 175). Theodulf favors the Spanish spelling 'quum' (I 161, 187), as is natural enough for a Visigoth, but it was evidently not the usual practice of the scribes at Fleury. The author has also revised his work; the variant 'sperne' for 'tempne' in II, 25 points to a doublet in Θ (Θ^1).

⁴⁷ So regarded by Traube, for instance in the case of the lost Verona manuscript of Pliny's Letters; see E. T. Merrill in *Classical Philology*, X (1915), p. 19. Mr. Merrill is, rightly I think, doubtful of the correctness of Traube's views in this case. We should

two columns in *Theo* and *Anic* may have been independently adopted, or it may have been a feature of a copy (Θ^1) intervening between them and Θ .

We may now revert to the evidence of palaeography. It seems to me beyond the bounds of possibility that either *Theo* or *Anic* was written before the ninth century, as Dom Quentin suggests may be the case.⁴⁸ Their script appears to me to fall within a period in the development of the School of Fleury in which a pronounced influence of the style of St. Martin's of Tours is prominent. This period begins not long after the death of Alcuin, say about 815, and continues until nearly the middle of the century, say 845.⁴⁹ I feel inclined to put both books, if done while Theodulf was alive, as near as possible to the date of his death in 821 or that of his disgrace in 818. It is not at all impossible that they were done after his death. The style of *Hub*, if I may venture an opinion based on very scanty evidence,⁵⁰ may be later than that of *Theo* and *Anic*, approaching nearer to the middle of the century. *Gep*, as I have indicated, is probably later still, and written elsewhere than in the neighborhood of Orléans; possibly, like so many of the books of St. Germain des Prés, it came from Corbie. Where *Bern* was written, I have no means of conjecturing, save that like some of the books of Berne, it might have been copied at Fleury.

I have not found it possible after a study of the variants provided by Dom Quentin to determine a sure derivation of any one of the books of this group from any other.⁵¹ Their pecu-

note that the Vallicellianus, which hardly has affiliations with Spain, is written with three columns on the page; see Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 197. Various instances are given by E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1912, pp. 55 f. The author's statement that *Theo* and *Anic*, no less than *Hub*, have three columns, is not in accord with the explicit statements of Berger (p. 405) and Dom Quentin (p. 250), which may be verified by the facsimile in *Album Paléographique*, 1887, Pl. 18.

⁴⁸ See above p. 212.

⁴⁹ See the outline of the dissertation of F. M. Carey, 'De Scriptura Floriacensi,' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), pp. 193 ff.

⁵⁰ Facsimiles are given by Dom Quentin, pp. 254, 259, and by F. G. Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1900, Pl. XV.

⁵¹ Berger, p. 180, speaks of an omission in *Hub* in the text of Judith which apparently was that of a column of its original. Does it, or does it not, coincide with a column in either *Theo* or *Anic*? Berger believes that *Hub* derives, though not im-

liarities seem to admit of the explanation that they were all independent copies of Θ , or of different descendants from it. Since Θ was equipped with marginal, or interlinear, variants, these variants would replace the text in different ways in different copies. A reading called the second hand by Dom Quentin may well be the work of a different writer from that of the text, but have been taken by him not from some outside source, but from the margin, or the text, of Θ or a descendant of it. I would propose this suggestion for the further consideration of Dom Quentin, on the basis of his abundant knowledge of the tradition. I would not rule out his theory that Theodulf made more than one recension — perhaps represented by additions and corrections introduced into the selfsame copy — and that *Hub* draws from an earlier form and *Theo*, *Anic*, and *Gep* from a later. But I should like to see more substantial proof of this idea than that which he has given here. We will attempt later⁵² a more minute examination of the relations of the Theodulfians to one another.

For the moment, let us see how the theory that I have presented works out in some of the passages treated by Dom Quentin. I will consider the readings of *Bern* at which we have already glanced,⁵³ and first the cases in which *Bern* disagrees with “nearly all” the other members of the group (p. 252). I will give the readings of Dom Quentin’s three leading manuscripts, *Am(iatinus)*, *Ott(obonianus)*, and *Tur(onensis)*, and indicate by *Span* a reading found in one or more of the manuscripts of the Spanish group. A square bracket is appended to what seems, in accordance with the principle finally adopted by Dom Quentin,⁵⁴ to be the correct text.

21. Ex. 2, 14: quid constituit te] *Tur Ott Span Hub Alc* quis constituit te *Am cet.* Θ

Here *Hub* takes the Alcuinian variant, probably in the margin of Θ .

mediately, from *Theo*. He thinks also that *Gep* takes now the first and now the second hand in *Theo*. But see below pp. 236 f.

⁵² See below, pp. 236 f.

⁵³ See above pp. 216 ff.

⁵⁴ Pp. 465 ff.

24. Ex. 2, 16: ad hauriendas aquas] *Am Tur Ott Span Hub*¹ ad hauriendam aquam *Alc Hub*² *cet.* Θ

Here Θ had adopted *Alc* for the text, with the original reading in the margin. The latter was chosen by *Hub*.

31. Ex. 2, 25: respexit] *Am Tur Ott*¹ *Span Hub*¹ et respexit *Alc Hub*² *cet.* Θ

Again *Hub* declined to take *Alc*. Both here and in the preceding instance, the second hand in *Hub* — unless it is of clearly later period — might have drawn from Θ .

74. Jud. 2, 23: has nationes] *Am Ott Span Alc* Θ *Theo* is declared to be "isolé." No indication of this fact is given in the list of the 91 variants (p. 246). From the larger apparatus (p. 66) we see that *Theo* has *has *** nationes*. This case seems hardly worth noting. It surely tells us nothing as to the relation of *Hub* and *Bern* to one another, except that they agree with what is undoubtedly the reading of the group.

75. Jud. 2, 23: in manibus] *Ott Span Alc Hub* in manus *Lugd* Θ in manu *Am*

Here *Hub* accepts, and rightly, the variant from *Alc*. *In manus* looks like an attempt at correction. It is noteworthy that this reading is found in the *Lugdunensis* (Par. lat. 1740), an uncial manuscript of the 8th century with characteristically Merovingian decoration.⁵⁵ The manuscript is associated by Dom Quentin with the Spanish group — just how we shall see later.⁵⁶ At all events, it seems worth reckoning with as one of the possible sources of Θ , if its text is *Span* and if it was accessible to Theodulf at Lyons. I will quote its readings from now on (*Lugd*), adding that it agreed with Θ in No. 74. It contains only Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth.

91. Ruth 2, 91: donec] *Am Lugd Span cet.* Θ donec et *Alc Hub*
Here again *Alc* is preferred, unwisely, by *Hub*.

These are the readings in which *Bern* agrees with "almost all" the Θ manuscripts, the dissentient manuscript being *Hub* in the six cases. We learn something about *Hub* by this survey.

⁵⁵ Quentin, pp. 392 ff.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 250.

Sometimes it uses the text and apparatus of Θ better than the other manuscripts do, and sometimes worse. Just how we should estimate its accuracy and intelligence in this matter cannot be known until every variant in the entire Octateuch is examined. As to *Bern*, these passages tell us nothing save that it is a member of Θ .

Now for the cases in which *Bern* disagrees with the rest of Θ , excepting that it agrees with *Hub* in four cases and with *Anic* in one.

32. Ex. 2, 25: respexit] *Am Tur Ott Span Hub*¹ *Bern* respexit dominus *Mar Alc Hub*² *cet.* Θ

Here is an interpolation of *Alc*, taken apparently from *Mar* (= Tours 10). *Hub* and *Bern* rightly rejected it.

33. Ex. 2, 25: et cognovit] *Am Tur Ott Span Theo*^m *Anic*^m *Hub Bern* et liberavit *Mar Alc Theo*¹ *Anic*¹ *Gep*

This is an interesting illustration of the different ways in which a variant of *Alc* was treated by the different descendants of Θ . *Theo* and *Anic* put this reading, which is not in the Old Latin versions or in the Hebrew,⁵⁷ in the text, with the original Θ reading in the margin. *Gep* has it in the text with nothing in the margin. *Hub* and *Bern* have not noticed it at all. But this is no sure evidence of a special relation between these two copies. Obviously we need a complete account of the way in which the marginal apparatus in Θ worked into the text. Agreement in the acceptance or rejection of the variants, if consistent and not sporadic, may well enable us to group two or more of the copies together; they may depend not on Θ directly but on an intervening copy. But surely it were rash to make any guess whatsoever on the basis of the handful of cases discussed by Dom Quentin.

41. Lev. 5, 19: in dominum] *Am Tur Ott cet.* Θ in domino *Span Mar Alc Hub Bern*

This instance is the reverse of the preceding. Here *Hub* and *Bern* have accepted *Alc*. But this is no necessary sign of their relation to one another.

⁵⁷ See Burkitt, J. T. S., p. 410.

62. Jos. 2, 21: *dimittensque*] *Am Ott Lugd Span Mar Alc* (*alii*) *Hub Bern* *demittensque Ott*¹ (*sed corr. m. 1*), *Alc* (*alii*), *cet.* *Θ*

Dimittensque is obviously right. The spies are now sent on their way (*dimittere*); they had previously (v. 18) been let down (*demittere*) from the window. But a change from *i* to *e* in transcribing is easy enough, both because these letters are frequently confused in Merovingian texts, and because *demittere* had just been used. *Θ* might have had *dimittensque* correctly, with *demittensque* as a marginal variant from one of the Alcuinians. Or perhaps the Theodulfians independently varied, just as the Alcuinians did. *Ott* falls into the error but immediately corrects it. This is not a good test case.

89. Ruth 2, 20: *rursusque propinquus ait noster est*] *Am Lugd Mar Alc cet.* *Θ* *rursusque ait propinquus noster est Span Anic Bern*

Here it is possible that *Anic* and *Bern* preserve the original reading of *Θ*, the other members accepting the correct variant, which came from *Alc*. But this fact, if it is a fact, does not necessarily put *Anic* and *Bern* in the same subdivision.

The above readings, therefore, while pointing to possibilities of great interest, prove nothing whatsoever about the ultimate relation of *Hub* and *Bern* to one another or to the group.

If *Bern* is an intermediary between *Hub* and the rest of the *Θ* manuscripts, it ought to contain no peculiarities which do not appear in the latter manuscripts. Dom Quentin lists 9 readings in which *Bern* disagrees with all the group (p. 252), and for that reason, as we have seen,⁵⁸ he assumes a copy (= X) to depend immediately on *Hub*, while *Bern* is on a side branch from X. But let us see what these readings are.

38. Lev. 5, 11: *similam*] *Am Tur Ott Span cet.* *Θ* *similae Alc Bern*

Similam, the *lectio difficilior*, is attested by the best manuscripts. The emendation, *similae*, apparently introduced first by *Alc*, was a marginal variant in *Θ*, taken only by *Bern*.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 218.

43. Num. 6, 5: per caput] *Am Ott Span(alii) cet.* Θ super caput *Tur Span (alii) Mar Mordr Alc Bern*

Another case of an *Alc* variant taken only by *Bern*. The same is true of cases 23, 46, 52. In 45, where the alternate readings are *conspersi sint* and *conspersi sunt*, independent error is so easy that this case may be ruled out of the discussion. Three readings remain:

77. Ruth 2, 2: clementis in me patris] *Am Lugd Mar Span (alii) Alc cet.* Θ clementissimi patris *Laud Span (alii) Bern*
This error, while explicable, does not look like one that two scribes would commit independently. It may have been in the Spanish manuscript that Theodulf used as the basis of his edition, but relegated to the margin in favor of the reading of *Alc*. If Theodulf rejected *clementissimi* altogether, then *Bern* took it from some other source and is therefore mixed. Possibly similar is

44. Num. 6, 9: et in eadem die] *Am Tur Ott Span(alii) Alc cet.* Θ in eadem die *Span(alii) Bern*

Of course the omission of *et* is easy, especially if a scribe did not note its correlative significance, with another *et* immediately following. But the fact that it occurs in many Spanish manuscripts makes possible either of the explanations suggested for the previous reading.

90. itaque] *Am Mar Alc cet.* Θ igitur *Lugd Span Bern*

This case is like the two preceding. *Lugd*, we again see, is associated with the Spanish group.

These instances are not enough to disprove the supposition that *Bern* descends directly from Θ, with here and there an unfortunate choice of the marginal reading instead of the text. It may be that elsewhere, i.e. outside the selected chapters, *Bern* proves to be patently conflated or defective. At any rate, somewhat to the reader's surprise, Dom Quentin ultimately casts it aside altogether (p. 507) as "inutile." This is extraordinary ingratitude towards a manuscript to which he has assigned so high a place in a stemma declared to be definitely established (p. 257). It is, according to this stemma, a witness to X independent of *Theo*, *Anic*, and *Gep*. The first task of the

critic, I should imagine, would be to reconstruct this X with the help of the two branches of its descendants.

At this point I may remark that Dom Quentin himself presents most striking evidence in favor of the theory which, following Berger, I have proposed. I may say that the general nature of the situation had seemed clear to me from an examination of the apparatus given by Dom Quentin before I refreshed my memory with Berger's discussion and before I had read the latter part of Dom Quentin's book.⁵⁹ Needless to say, I was delighted to find that the latter is more nearly in agreement with the former than one might suppose. Dom Quentin declares that a simple glance reveals the presence of an Alcuinian influence in Θ (p. 263), and he also presents a highly significant list of the marginal variants in *Theo* for the book of Exodus (p. 291). Theodulf, whatever the sources of his basic text, had collated it with other sources, and, in an altogether modern way, designated these sources with letters. Dom Quentin shows beyond question that a marginal reading labelled \bar{a} is Alcuinian, one labelled \bar{s} is from some Spanish manuscript related to the *Toletanus* or its descendants, while a sign like \bar{ii} (apparently the numeral II) marks a reading given both by \bar{a} and by \bar{s} ; and \bar{al} (*aliter* or *alibi*) denotes some other source or sources. So far as I am aware, there is nowhere in the Middle Ages, or in the early Renaissance, a closer approach than this to the modern method of constructing a critical text. Berger had called attention to this feature of Θ ,⁶⁰ but Dom Quentin's account is fuller. Yet it only makes us eager for more.

For a number of questions present themselves.

(1) It is noteworthy that in one case,⁶¹ a variant labelled \bar{a} is found by Dom Quentin in *Tol* and *Osc*, two Spanish manuscripts, but not in *Alc*. Perhaps this is a slip on the part of

⁵⁹ I also deliberately refrained from reading the articles of Dom de Bruyne and Burkitt (see above, pp. 200, 198) until I had put my own argument into shape.

⁶⁰ Pp. 166 ff. Dom de Bruyne, p. [74] suggests that the former letter may stand for "Alcuin" and the latter for "Spanicus." For specimens, see the facsimile of *Theo* in *Album Paléographique*, 1887, Pl. 18.

⁶¹ P. 291, Ex. 9, 4.

Theodulf; perhaps the variant may be found in some Alcuinian manuscript not yet examined.

(2) There are more cases in which an \bar{s} -variant is not found in any Spanish codex. The codices at present known, it would seem, do not tell us all that we should like to know with regard to the composition of Θ . I could wish that Dom Quentin had chosen instead of Exodus one of the four books, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which are contained in the Lugdunensis. That codex, I am inclined to believe, has not been treated with due consideration.

(3) Some, at least, of the variants are present in *Anic*. The entire list should be studied, with the hope of finding new evidence on the relation of these two copies to one another. Berger (p. 174) shows that *Anic* has in some cases, by a stupid choice of marginal variants instead of the text, reversed the intention of the careful editor, who relegated inferior readings to the margin, just as they are relegated to an apparatus criticus today. But Berger himself, following Delisle, refers to at least nine marginal readings of *Anic* which could not be derived from *Theo* (p. 174). The matter seems to call for a new treatment.

Furthermore, if the apparatus criticus of Θ can be at least partly reconstructed from its different representatives, we may hope to determine more exactly the parent manuscript of the group. According to Dom Quentin, once more, it is the Ottonianus. According to Berger, it is some Spanish text (p. 150). As I have already indicated, the latter seems far more probable.⁶² I think, further, that an exceedingly good case can be made out for *Mar* (Turonensis 10)⁶³ as the ancestor of the group, or, rather, as closely related to the ancestor. And also,

⁶² See above, pp. 219 f. A point noticed by Corssen and Berger (p. 151) is illustrated profusely in the apparatus of Dom Quentin, namely the Spanish spelling 'quum,' 'quur,' 'loquuti,' etc. Of course, as we have observed these spellings in Theodulf's own poems (see above, p. 221), we cannot surely say that they prevailed in his basic text. Curiously, *Mar* (Turon. 10) has 'quur' (Ex. 2, 18), 'persequuti' (Jos. 2, 22), and one or two more such. Possibly the text of *Mar* is crossed with something Spanish — but possibly not, for 'quum,' 'quur,' and the like occur even in Irish texts, sporadically; it is only their constant use that indicates a Spanish origin.

⁶³ On this manuscript, see below, pp. 242 f.

in one of the most significant passages in the text of the selected chapters, the text of Θ could have been derived only from *Tur* or some manuscript resembling it.⁶⁴ For the present it is enough to say that Dom Quentin regards *Tur* as the ancestor of the Spanish group. Above all, his admission that *Ott* is not the immediate ancestor of Θ , but only a near relation of its ancestor, pulls out an important prop from his structure. We are given no inkling of this fact till the very end of the book (p. 519), when — down goes the temple of Gaza! For if *Ott* is on another branch from that of Θ , both of them descend independently from the ancestor, or X. We cannot, therefore, pin our faith entirely on *Ott*, but must match its evidence with that of Θ in the attempt to reconstruct X. Moreover, as *Ott* is no more nearly related to the group than are *Mar* and *Tur*, and as *Lugd* is not without importance, we still have much — or everything — to learn as to the sources of Θ .

The first step in this proceeding is to reconstruct the archetype of the Theodulfians, so far as this can be done. Hence we must find the different lines of descent. According to Dom Quentin, the matter is simplicity itself. *Hub* leads the line, and all the others depend on it, with *Theo* at their tail. It is surprising that so good an observer as Berger should have put a very lowly estimate on *Hub*. Can these two estimates be reconciled?

First, it is not difficult to amass from the material presented by Dom Quentin⁶⁵ a tolerably imposing array of peculiar readings found in *Hub* sufficient to disprove the theory that the other manuscripts descended directly from it. Here are some instances.

41. Lev. 5, 19: in dominum] *Am Tur Ott cet.* Θ in domino
Span (aliñ) Mar Alc Hub Bern

Here, if we follow the stemma laid down by Dom Quentin, in which the line of descent is *Ott, Hub, cet.* Θ , we find the right reading in *Ott*, the wrong reading in *Hub*, and the right reading

⁶⁴ See below, pp. 233 f.

⁶⁵ I am considering not only the 91 selected readings (pp. 235 ff.) but the entire collation of the selected chapters, pp. 235 ff.

again in the rest of Θ , except *Bern*. The theory that I am following does not involve us in such perplexities.⁶⁶

Again, in Deut. 2, 22, *Ott* has the distorted spelling *euheos*, *Hub* the almost correct *heuaeus*, and the rest of Θ the correct *heuaeos*. Dom Quentin throws out the spelling of proper names as evidence (p. 234). Sometimes such spellings are unimportant; sometimes they are very important indeed.⁶⁷

In Jud. 2, 17, *Ott* had *ingressi fuerunt*, *Hub* *ingressi sunt*, and the other Θ the un-Ciceronian, but here correct, *ingressi fuerant*. In this instance we may suspect *Hub* guilty of the worst of all errors — conjectural emendation.

It is also not difficult to compile an array of errors which occur only in *Hub*, or, in a few cases, in *Hub* and a very few manuscripts that could hardly have occasioned the error in *Hub*. I will mention most, if not quite all, of these.

Ex. 2, 3 *linivit*] *leniuit*; 13 *egressus*] *egressu*; 21 *iuravit*] *iuravitque*; Lev. 5, 4 *ut*] *et*; 13 *pro illo*] *pro illum*; *et*] *om.*; Num. 6, 9 *coram*] *bis*; 13 *adducet*] *aducet*; 16 *et*] *mg.*; Deut. 2, 22 *Hevaeos*] *heuaeus*; Jos. 2, 10 *amorraeorum* *Am Lugd Mar cet.* Θ *ammorraeorum* *Hub*; 13 *matrem*] *matrem meam*; 14 *prodideris*] *prodederis*; 18 *si*] *sin*; Jud. 2, 5 *lacrimarum*] *lacrimantium*; 15 *pergere voluisset*] *uoluisset pergere*; Ruth 2, 1 *consanguineus*] *cumsanguineus*; 2 *iubes*] *iubas*; 6 *qui*] *quae*; 7 *rogavit*] *rogabat*; *remanentes*] *remanentis*; 8 *hoc*] *hac*; 9 *etiam*] *iam*; *sitieris*] *sicieris*; 10 *dignareris*] *dignaris*; 11 *quod*] *quo*; *veneris*] *venires*; 12 *a domino deo*] *ad dominum deum*; 17 *ephi(oephi)*] *oephi*; 19 *ei*] *et (ei add.)*.

So far as the selected chapters are concerned, this list amply bears out Berger's judgment of *Hub* as the most carelessly copied member of the group. Neither *Theo* nor *Anic* nor *Gep* — nor *Bern* — can match this record of errors. It is therefore next to impossible to put *Hub* at the head of the group. Some of these errors would be emended (merely by the use of com-

⁶⁶ See above, p. 225. Like the instance just given are Jos. 2, 9: *tradiderit dominum vobis*] *Am Ott Span(alii) Hub Bern: trad. vobis dom. Span (alii) cet. Θ ; 14 dominus terram*] *Alc etc. Hub Bern: terram dominus cet. Θ* .

⁶⁷ Dom Quentin's discussion of the nature of significant variants (pp. 231 ff.) is questionable in more instances than one. A good corrective is furnished by Dom de Bruyne, R. B., pp. [72] f.

mon sense) in copies deriving from it. But surely some of these imperfections would remain in some of these copies. As none of them has a single one, I should infer that *Hub* is the ancestor of none of them. It is, therefore, one among several descendants of Θ , the subdivisions of which are still to seek.

Another feature of *Hub* is the presence of certain readings, not in the rest of Θ , suggesting a Spanish source. For example,

Gen. 2, 3: iam celare] iam celare eum *Tur*² *Cav* eum iam celare *Hub*

Here *Hub*, clearly, has incorporated in the wrong place what in its original was a marginal or interlinear addition.⁶⁸

There are some variants, however, that indicate a source not necessarily Spanish.

Lev. 5, 15: delicto] peccato *Hub* *Hisp* *Ly*
Hisp, though a codex of Madrid (saec. XI–XII), is of the Italian group (p. 366), and *Ly*, a Lyons manuscript (saec. XII), is a descendant of *Alc* (p. 412).

Ruth 2, 13: ante oculos tuos] *Am* *Cav* *Tol* *Mar* *Mordr* apud oculos tuos *Lugd* *Laud* *Alc* *et*. Θ coram oculis tuis *Hub* *Univ* (saec. XIII) etc.

These two readings raise certain suspicions as to the nature of the text of *Hub*. The Spanish readings that differ from the rest of Θ might have been in the margin of Theodulf's copy and been taken thence by *Hub*, but the instances just cited suggest contamination with some outside source—in these cases an inferior source. We must bear both possibilities in mind in considering certain other passages.

Num. 6, 17: pacificam] *Hub* *cum* *plerisque* *pacificorum* *Mar* *Theo* *Anic* *Gep* *Zur* *Rorig* *Bern*
Pacificorum looks like a variant taken by Alcuin from *Mar* and preferred by Θ . *Hub* might have found *pacificam* in the margin of Θ , or got it from another source. The following case is similar:

⁶⁸ See also Gen. 2, 13: die altero] die altera *Hub* *Berg* *Osc* (these two manuscripts are of the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively). Jud. 2, 4: angelus domini verba haec] verba haec angelus domini *Hub*: angelus domini (verba haec om.) *Osc*. If this is not a case of independent carelessness, *Hub* and *Osc* may derive from a manuscript in which 'verba haec' was written in the margin or between the lines. Jud. 2, 5: et] om. *Co* *Hub*. Ruth 2, 13 qui] quia *Cav* *Hub*.

Ex. 2, 25 respexit] *Am Tur Ott Span Hub*¹ *Bern* respexit dominus *Mar Alc cet. Θ Hub*²

One of the most important passages in the selected chapters is Ex. 2, 22: alterum vero peperit quem vocavit Eliezer, dicens: Deus enim patris mei adiutor meus eripuit me de manu Pharaonis *Mordr Alc Co Tol Osc alii ed. Clement. om. Ott Hub*¹ *Cav alii* alterum uero uocauit Eliezer . . . Pharaonis *Tur Theo Anic Gep Hub (mg.)* alium uero genuit quem . . . Pharaonis *Am*

Dom Quentin infers (p. 484) that the archetype of our manuscripts of the Vulgate did not contain this passage on the second son of Moses. This seems very probably the case, though not for the reason, necessarily, that the archetype was faulty. The passage is not in the Hebrew or in most of the manuscripts of the LXX, or, so far as is indicated in Sabatier, in the Old Latin.⁶⁹ St. Jerome, therefore, may not have included it. Yet as it occurs in an old and important manuscript of the LXX, the Ambrosian, written saec. IV–V, according to Swete,⁷⁰ perhaps some Old Latin version, not now extant, had it from such a source. It also would not be difficult for any intelligent reader to note what seemed a startling omission, and to fill the gap with the help of Ex. 18, 3. There might well have been several such attempts, slightly differing from one another. That in *Am*, it would seem, is not found elsewhere — an indication, abundantly supported by other readings and finally stated by Dom Quentin (p. 519), that *Am* is no more the direct ancestor of *Alc* than *Ott* is of *Θ*. The wording of the Clementine edition goes back at least to the 8th century, where it appears first in the Bible of Maurdramnus of Corbie (*Mordr*), whence it was appropriated by *Alc*. Its presence in certain Spanish manuscripts, including *Tol*, is a puzzle, especially if *Tol*, or this part of it, proves to be of the 8th century.⁷¹ Is there an influence from *Mordr* or *Alc* at work in certain Spanish texts, or was *Mordr* itself slightly crossed with *Span*? If neither condition

⁶⁹ *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, 1751, I, p. 139.

⁷⁰ *The Old Testament in Greek*, 1887, p. xxvi.

⁷¹ See below, p. 248. It is to be hoped that the new examination of *Tol* may be undertaken at the earliest possible date — preferably by Dr. Lowe himself.

can be proved from other data, it may after all be that the Clementine text is right, as it is supported by two traditions, *Mordr* and one of Spain, that have nothing to do with one another. St. Jerome might thus have followed some manuscript of the LXX as authority for the addition. In that case, we must say that *Am* and *Tur* start with this text of St. Jerome, in copying which they independently made the same omission. Some Spanish family then committed the more serious error — induced by the Old Latin, perhaps — of entirely omitting the questionable words, and with this Spanish family, *Ott*, *Cav*, etc. are to be grouped. I confess that this latter explanation seems less probable, but the matter cannot be settled until the relation of *Mordr* and *Span* is more surely determined.

For the moment we may waive this problem, for we are concerned merely with Θ . The basis of this recension, it would appear, was either a Spanish text of the type of *Ott Cav*, in which the omission had then been filled from a manuscript like *Tur*, or else a text of this latter sort in which the gap had already been filled. On the former supposition, *Hub* is nearer to the original Θ than are the other members of the group. But we must remember the possibility ⁷² that *Hub* draws from some other source than Θ . According to Berger,⁷³ certain peculiarities suggest the north of France, while Wordsworth and White⁷⁴ consider the original text of this manuscript — that is, in the Gospels — to be akin to that of the Northumbrian family, which includes *Am*. In the present instance, it might be that the basic text of *Hub* did not have the words of our passage, which were added by *Hub* in the margin from Θ . We must content ourselves with airy hypotheses of this sort until we know more of the facts.

Meantime, we may consider once more ⁷⁵ what data there are in the selected chapters for associating the different mem-

⁷² See above, p. 232.

⁷³ P. 179.

⁷⁴ *Novum Testamentum Latine*, I, pp. 707, 709, 719. A similar conclusion is reached by Burkitt, *J. T. S.*, p. 411.

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 222 f.

bers of Θ in groups. Even in this scanty portion of text certain clues are discernible, worth following in the rest of the Octateuch. First, it would appear, as we have already seen in the text of the accompanying poems of Theodulf, that *Theo* and *Anic*, despite their close relation, are copied not either from the other but both from a common source.⁷⁶ *Theo* has errors not found in *Anic*.⁷⁷ *Anic*, therefore, was not copied directly from *Theo*. Further, as these errors do not appear in any other manuscripts of the group, none of them — so this partial evidence would indicate — descended directly from *Theo*.⁷⁸ *Anic*, in the selected chapters, seems to be a more careful copy than *Theo*, but it likewise makes some blunders.⁷⁹ I see no clear sign that any others of the group descended directly from *Anic*.⁸⁰ The most significant array of coincidences that I have been able to discover is that which exists between *Hub* and *Gep*.⁸¹ These are not enough to prove, but they at least suggest, that *Gep* and *Hub* may be derived from the same original. That *Gep* was not copied from *Hub* is shown by the individual errors of the latter manuscript, which, as we have seen, is the most careless of all the copies of Θ .⁸² That *Hub* was not copied from *Gep* is shown first of all by the later date of *Gep*, if the script of that

⁷⁶ See above, p. 221, note 46.

⁷⁷ E.g. Jos. 2, 3: exploratores] explatores; 18 matrem] marem; Jud. 2, 8: et] om.; 9 Thamnathsare] thamnatsare Anic Hub: tamnathsare Theo; 22 experiar] experiatur. This last reading is not an idiosyncrasy of Theo, but was evidently a marginal reading in Θ , coming from Alc. It is just as good evidence in the present case, for none of the other MSS of Θ have it. Theo here falls into the blunder which Berger (p. 174) charges Anic with frequently committing, namely the substitution of Theodulf's apparatus for his text.

⁷⁸ In Jos. 2, 16, Theo and Gep¹ read 'innosci' for 'innoxii,' but the virtual identity of pronunciation makes independent error easy. In Jud. 2, 1, Theo and Hub agree in interpolating 'vos,' and in Jud. 2, 14, in interpolating 'est'; but these words might have been in the margin of Θ and hence adopted independently.

⁷⁹ E.g. Ex. 2, 12: circumpexisset] circumpexisset; Jud. 2, 16: eos] om.

⁸⁰ Jos. 2, 8: ad eos] ad illos Anic Gep might be significant, if it were backed up by other instances, but I have noticed none of any importance. Similarly, the agreement of Anic with Hub in omitting 'per' in Jud. 2, 17 might indicate an interdependence if there were other cases of the same kind.

⁸¹ Ruth 2, 2: cui illa] cuilla; 3 post terga] posterga; 7 remanentes] + et; 13 inveni] Gep² inueniam Gep¹ Hub; 17 collegerat] colligerat Gep¹ Hub; 18 quo sat] quos sat.

⁸² See above, p. 231.

book is correctly estimated above,⁸³ and also by the errors of *Gep* that are not in *Hub*.⁸⁴

With the above evidence before us, it is possible to construct an hypothesis, which includes parts, but not all, of the rival theories of Berger and Dom Quentin. Theodulf, let us say, possessed a copy of some Spanish form of text, not derived directly from *Ott* but related to it, and, it may be, related also to *Tur* and to *Mar* and to *Lugd*; or it may have been related to some one of these, and the others, or texts like them, may have been used in the recension. For in his copy (Θ) he entered variants from *Alc* (= \bar{a}), from a source possibly Spanish (= \bar{s}), and from one or more other sources (= al). Such readings, if approved, he put into the text; if not, they were relegated to the marginal apparatus criticus. This book may have been Theodulf's copy, which he improved from time to time. From it were made two copies, Θ^1 , which he intended to be the final affair, and which was beautifully adorned and equipped with his accompanying poems and various "helps." Of this book two sumptuous copies were independently made, *Theo* and *Anic*, either towards the end of his life, or, it may well be, a decade or so after his death. Another copy, probably not so elaborate, Θ^2 , was also made — just when it were rash to state — from which *Hub* and *Gep* were independently written, the former towards the middle of the century, the latter towards the end of it, and at some other monastery than Fleury.⁸⁵ It may also be that a copy intervened between Θ^2 and *Hub* in which certain alterations were introduced, perhaps from a Northumbrian manuscript or one from the north of France. Or again, it is possible that a copy of such a recension was revised with the help of Θ^2 , and that this is the immediate ancestor of *Hub*. A book mentioned by Berger⁸⁶ but not by Dom Quentin is Paris. lat. 45, a Bible of St. Riquier, saec. IX. Berger de-

⁸³ See above, p. 213.

⁸⁴ Ex. 2, 12 circumspexisset] circumspexissent; Ruth 2, 12] ad quem venisti et sub cuius confugisti alas] sub cuius confugisti alas et ad quem venisti *Gep*¹; 23 in horreis] om. *Gep*¹.

⁸⁵ As I have indicated, the connection of *Gep* and *Hub* is by no means proved as yet. Perhaps *Gep* belongs on the Θ^1 branch, while *Hub* descends from Θ^2 .

⁸⁶ Pp. 180, 401.

clares its text like that of *Hub*. As *Gep*, from St. Germain des Prés, may have come from Corbie, we may guess what that northern monastery may have been. In any case, Paris. lat. 45 should be examined with an eye to its relation to *Hub* and *Gep*. It will be seen, then, that this explanation allows for the presence in *Hub* of good readings not in the other manuscripts of Θ — a condition which comports with the theory of Dom Quentin, and also for the presence of conflated and inferior readings — a condition which comports with the theory of Berger. Finally, it may be — and only the testing of every scrap of the evidence can decide — that the signs of a connection between *Theo Anic* and *Hub Gep* are illusory, and that these four manuscripts derive by separate and independent paths from Θ^1 — or Θ . Unless clear proof of their interconnection is forthcoming, we shall rest satisfied with the conclusion that their lines of descent are distinct.

The ornamentation of the Bibles of Theodulf still awaits a satisfactory discussion. Dom Quentin points out (p. 259) certain Spanish peculiarities in all the books, even in the late copy *Bern*, but the amount and kind of Spanish ornament in *Hub* differs from that in *Theo*, *Anic*, and *Gep*. In the opinion of Mr. A. M. Friend of Princeton University, the decorative style of the Theodulfian Bibles is a law unto itself in the field of Carolingian art. Does the ornamentation of *Hub* suggest a first attempt at a manner, or the mixture of the manner with alien elements? The study of the art of the Carolingian Bibles is far behind that of their text and their script. It may well hold the answer to some of our present problems in the text of the Vulgate.⁸⁷

I would conclude, therefore, after this examination of the Theodulfians, on the basis of the material presented by Dom Quentin, that, despite his painstaking study of this group and the wealth of information he has brought together, a perverse and mechanical system has led him to radically wrong re-

⁸⁷ Mr. Friend is impressed with the similarity of the ornamentation in Brit. Mus. harl. 1775 (Gospels) and add. 5463 (Gospels) to that in *Theo*. The text of these books should be examined, therefore, with an eye to that of the Theodulfians as well as to the considerations set forth by Berger (pp. 91 ff.) with regard to the latter book.

sults.⁸⁸ He has furnished the material for a modification of Berger's estimate of the group, but Berger is nearer the truth in his estimate of *Theo* and *Hub* than Dom Quentin is. Whether my own hypothesis is any better remains to be seen. I offer it, with due diffidence, for Dom Quentin, with his command of the details of the text, to submit to further criticism. What I believe I have shown is the fallaciousness of Dom Quentin's new method of determining the relationship of manuscripts by hunting for elusive zeroes in a comparison of little groups of three. To apply this method involves a maximum of toil with a minimum of sure result. Moreover, the stemma which Dom Quentin regards as "finally established" (p. 257) is derived from a very tiny fragment of the entire text — 8 chapters out of 236. Even in this small section, his conclusions are not based on the entire material, but merely on 91 selected readings.⁸⁹ I find enough to overthrow these conclusions merely from what he has omitted — *spicas quae fugerint manus metientis*. In short, we are not at the end of a just appraisal of the Theodulfians, but at the beginning. Surely in the remainder of the Octateuch there must be sufficient criteria for determining the relation of the manuscripts of this group to one another and to the original text prepared by Theodulf. The problem is interesting and promising. But, once more, its solution lies not behind us, but before.

2. *The Bible of Alcuin*

Following the example of Berger, Dom Quentin treats the Alcuinian recension after that of Theodulf, despite the obvious fact that Theodulf's is the later. Even though it prove, as Berger thought, that the text underlying Θ is the more antique, that hardly seems reason for reversing the apparently sure sequence of events. Alcuin issued his Bible in 801, and Theodulf his, as we have seen, between that date and 818 or 821.

The manuscripts used by Dom Quentin to reconstruct *Alc* are the following. Paris. lat. 3 (= *Rorig*), the Bible of Count Rorigon, who died about 841. This book, which according to

⁸⁸ Burkitt declares, J. T. S., p. 410: "I conclude therefore that the textual evidence does not even point towards Dom Quentin's conclusions about the Theodulfian group."

⁸⁹ Dom de Bruyne, R. B. p. [76], observes: "A priori je trouve la base trop étroite."

Dom Quentin is the leader of the group, was written, in my opinion, founded on the basis of a careful study of the manuscript, not many years before the death of Rorigon, say 835–840. In style, it much resembles the First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris. lat. 1), written under the Abbot Vivian at St. Martin's, which with the Gospels of Lothaire (Paris. lat. 266) represents the highest achievement of the art of Tours in its most perfect period, the middle of the ninth century. The illumination of the Rorigon Bible is splendid, though less exquisite than that of the Vivian Bible; the two artists apparently followed, with their individual differences, a common source. *Rorig*, though earlier than the mid-century books, is over a quarter-century later than Alcuin's time. After what Berger has noted of the rapid deterioration in the text of the ninth-century Bibles (p. 145), it seems strange that so late a book as *Rorig* should head the list. Again, Berger, agreeing with Corsen, has a different opinion from that of Dom Quentin. Both these authorities put the books of Bamberg, Zürich, and Berne at the upper end of the series of Alcuinian Bibles, and place *Rorig* next to the Vivian Bible at the lower end.⁹⁰ Judging merely by the script and the ornamentation of the book, I would decide for this view rather than that of Dom Quentin.⁹¹

The next book on Dom Quentin's list (Par. lat. 11514) has, on the score of palaeography, a much better claim to the position which he allows it. Dom Quentin (p. 274) cites my opinion that this book represents "la plus ancienne période de l'école de Tours." With the help of his material, I can make this estimate more precise. Without knowing anything of the text, I had come to the opinion, based on the character of the script, that the book was written after the Vatican Livy⁹² but before the

⁹⁰ See Berger, pp. 227, 235.

⁹¹ It is to be noted that Dom Quentin has collated of his leading manuscript only the selected chapters. He has a collation of Gen. and Ex. made by Dom Cottineau, but his estimate of the book is based, apparently, on only this amount of the text of the Octateuch.

⁹² For a brief account of what seems to me the probable history of the script of St. Martin's, see 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours,' by E. K. Rand and G. Howe, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), pp. 19 ff. I will refer to this article as *The Vatican Livy*.

great Alcuinian Bibles of Bamberg, Zürich, and Berne, which seemed to me to illustrate the clear method of Tours first attained under the régime of Alcuin. The Alcuinian Bibles now preserved may not have been seen by Alcuin, though I would by no means exclude that possibility, and at any rate, if my estimate of the script is right, they would hardly have been written much later than 810. Now although in most parts of the three great Alcuinian Bibles the fully developed style of Tours appears, there are parts in which the old cursive traits are rather frequently allowed. In 11514, most of the hands present these traits; in parts of the book, however, the regular hand is seen;⁹³ in the Vatican Livy, on the other hand, it is nowhere consistently found. That in brief was my evidence for dating the book between the Livy and the Bibles.

But now we have the evidence of the text. Obviously we cannot call the book pre-alcuinian, as I think to be true of the Livy. It was done after the completion of Alcuin's recension in 801 and was one of the earliest copies, I take it, of that recension, appearing before the Bibles of Bamberg, Zürich, and Berne. It would seem, therefore, that the completed "Alcuinian" style was not achieved until just before the master's death or shortly after it. From indications, however, which deserve further study, I think it possible that 11514 may after all have been written not at St. Martin's but at some monastery to which the influence of Tours had penetrated. In that case, we may assign it to a somewhat later date, after that of the three Bibles. It is early in the series, at all events. It furnishes a striking example of the necessity of studying history, palaeography, and textual criticism together, in the fashion forever to be associated with the name of Ludwig Traube. Par. lat. 11514 must be a corner-stone in any treatment of the history of the script of Tours. We should be grateful to Dom Quentin for giving prominence to this book for the first time.⁹⁴

MS. C.1 of the Cantonal Library of Zürich (= *Zur*) is one of the great Alcuinian Bibles, as we have seen. It belongs in the same stratum as the books of Bamberg and Berne. They all

⁹³ As in the facsimile given by Dom Quentin, p. 275.

⁹⁴ It is not in Berger's list.

are fine specimens of the developed Alcuinian style, though they all, as we have noted, contain sections in which the writing is careless and in which cursive traits are still permitted.

Brit. Mus. add. 10546 is the Bible from the abbey of Moûtiers-Grandval (= *Grandv*). It is a sumptuous Bible, and in script and ornamentation seems nearer to the mid-century than does the Bible of Rorigon. Still, as I indicate elsewhere,⁹⁵ it may well be that, like the Morgan Gospels of Tours, the book is composite, part of it written in the Alcuinian period and part added not long before the mid-century, at which time the ornamentation was refashioned and elaborated. At least twelve hands can be distinguished in the book; that which writes the Octateuch is not of the early or Alcuinian period.

The Vallicellian Bible (Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, B 6 = *Vall*) is one of the most beautiful books of the ninth century. Its text descends from Alcuin's recension and is accompanied by some little poems of Alcuin which accompany that recension. Berger (p. 235) put this book at the head of the Books of Tours, on account of certain excellent readings that it contains, which go back, according to him, to an Irish text of the Scriptures preserved at Tours (p. 202) and utilized by Alcuin for his Bible. In putting *Vall* at the head of the list, Berger is considering the nature of the text and not the actual date of the book. Its script and ornamentation, as he makes plain enough, are Franco-Saxon, closely related in style as well as text to the Bible of St. Denis, i.e. the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris. lat. 2).⁹⁶ This book was written not long after 865. Both Corssen⁹⁷ and Dom Quentin (p. 267) are, I believe, right in dethroning *Vall* from the eminence given it by Berger. At least it would seem more natural to suppose that the basis of *Vall* is a copy of the Alcuinian recension which owes its Irish (Saxon) features not to that recension, but to its crossing with some Irish (Saxon) source. The evidence supplied by Dom Quentin certainly points in that direction.

⁹⁵ In the forthcoming volume in honor of His Eminence Cardinal Ehrle, *Miscellanea Ehrle*.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 198, 287 ff.

⁹⁷ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, pp. 855-875; Berger, p. 288.

The last of Dom Quentin's manuscripts is the famous Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (= *Paul*). This, like *Vall*, is one of the most splendid specimens of Carolingian art. I had the privilege of examining it at St. Paul's, which from time immemorial has been its abiding-place. Whether this masterpiece was written in the same monastery as the Bible of St. Denis or not, the tendencies exhibited in both its script and its ornamentation are identical. Though deriving, on the one side, from the style of St. Martin's of Tours, the book was not written at that scriptorium. Like the Bible of St. Denis, it is a product of the Franco-Saxon movement in the north of France. This is also the estimate of Berger,⁹⁸ from whom Dom Quentin apparently does not dissent. The text also, according to Berger (p. 295), is a medley, and the book has the lowest place in Dom Quentin's list (p. 278).

With the above books, all of which are in some way related to the Alcuinian text, Dom Quentin includes two others which most probably were used by Alcuin in preparing his edition, Turonensis 10 (= *Mar*) and Ambianensis 6 and 7 (= *Mordr*). The former codex was written, according to Berger (p. 204), with whom Dom Quentin apparently agrees (p. 268), at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. I studied the book at Tours, through the kindness of the librarian, M. Collon, and simply on palaeographical grounds assigned it to the end of the eighth rather than to the beginning of the ninth century. The script seemed to me to fall in what I termed a "pre-alcuinian" period, represented also by the Vatican Livy.⁹⁹ Both of these contain the material from which during the régime of Alcuin the clear and consistent principles of the "Alcuinian" style were worked out. These results are in keeping with Berger's estimate of the text of this Bible (p. 204), and are now confirmed by the fuller information given by Dom Quentin. The latter recognizes in this text one of the influences that went to make up *Alc*.¹⁰⁰ It would also be quite

⁹⁸ Pp. 292 ff. See also A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, 1913, Pl. CXXI, who dates it in the third quarter of the ninth century.

⁹⁹ See *The Vatican Livy*, pp. 23 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Pp. 282 ff.

possible a priori, as I have suggested,¹⁰¹ that Theodulf found it an important source in the preparation of his edition.

The Bible of Amiens (6 and 7), *Mordr*, was copied by the order of Maurdramnus, Abbot of Corbie, in 781. Any one who has turned the pages of this astonishing book will agree with Dom Quentin that were its date not attested by a subscription from Maurdramnus himself, one might be tempted to assign the script to the ninth century — at least that temptation existed before the investigations of the ever-lamented Abbé Liebaert were published in outline by Lindsay.¹⁰² It is now clear that the Bible of Maurdramnus is no isolated phenomenon but a link in a continuous chain.¹⁰³ Alcuin, of course, would have ready access to a book of Maurdramnus; the ancient uncial Livy from which the Turonensis was copied was sent down from Corbie.¹⁰⁴

Dom Quentin proceeds to sort the manuscripts of *Alc* by his method of examining little groups of three. I entirely agree with him that his result “s'appuie sur des chiffres très faibles” (p. 278). He nevertheless claims to have established an “ordre

¹⁰¹ See above, pp. 229, 236.

¹⁰² *Palaeographia Latina*, I (1922), pp. 62 ff. See also The Vatican Livy, p. 20.

¹⁰³ Lowe in his review of *Pal. Lat. I* (Class. Rev. XXXVII, 1923, pp. 135 f.) suggests an important modification of Liebaert's views, namely that the four styles of Corbie represent two main varieties, which he calls, for purposes of convenience, that of Luxeuil and that of Tours, and that all four were practised at the same time, the two streams of influence ('Luxeuil' and 'Tours') flowing “side by side for nearly a century.” This is a wholesome warning to anybody who would follow too schematically the course of any movement in script or art. Periods were not ushered in by the ringing of a bell. At the same time, it seems to me that Liebaert was right in placing the scripts in the order which he assigned to them. That does not mean that the periods would not overlap; of course they would, since aged scribes would tend to retain the manner to which they were accustomed. Lowe finds it an untenable view that “a Merovingian type (a-b type), was allowed to re-appear, and to be cultivated to the highest point of perfection, despite the fact that under abbots Leutchar and Maurdramnus a simple, clear, and extremely legible minuscule had been developed.” On the contrary, this reversion to an earlier type seems natural enough. Its character is essentially archaistic, as may be illustrated I believe, not only in the a-b type of Corbie, but in an archaistic manner practised at Reichenau towards the end of the eighth century. We meet with similar movements later in the Middle Ages; on an archaistic hand of Fleury, see the outline of Carey's dissertation, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.* XXXIV, p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ See The Vatican Livy, p. 24.

définitif," as follows: *Rorig*, 11514, *Zur*, *Grandv*, *Vall*, *Paul*. I have examined his data with attention (as usual they are drawn merely from the 91 variants), and, as in the case of Θ , find his genealogy, headed here as there by a manuscript previously thought one of the later and relatively inferior witnesses, to be by no means convincingly proved.¹⁰⁵ As with Θ , the clue to the Alcuinian recension is, I believe, the supposition of a text prepared by Alcuin from various sources, with variants in the margins; the descendants of this original edition differ in the degree to which they substitute these variants for the text. In all the readings discussed on pp. 276-278 — and from these Dom Quentin's stemma is constructed — there is only one which, in my opinion, can be taken as sure criterion of a group. It is Ex. 2, 5: famulis] famulabus *Vall Paul posteriores*. *Vall* and *Paul* apparently belong to the same recension, probably a Franco-Saxon affair, as we have seen; in the present case it has contributed an error, which through the later tradition worked its way into the Clementine recension. This one reading enables us to form a plausible hypothesis with regard to *Vall* and *Paul*, but one that demands to be tested throughout the text of the Octateuch.

I will tarry with this most unsatisfactory array of evidence only long enough to examine the data which induce Dom Quentin to put *Rorig* at the head of the list. He examines the relations between that manuscript and two others successively, always finding that one of the three yields the lucky zero and hence is proved the intermediary, with *Rorig* as leader. The first of these formulae is:

$$\begin{aligned} Rorig < 11514 \quad Zur &= 45, 62, (63), 76 = 3 \\ Rorig > 11514 < Zur &= (15), (81) = 0 \\ Rorig \quad 11514 > Zur &= 42 = 1 \end{aligned}$$

Here, as in the treatment of *Bern* of the Theodulfian group,¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ How Dom de Bruyne, who appreciates the weakness of Dom Quentin's estimate of the Theodulfians, can find the classification of the Alcuinians "entièrement satisfaisant" (op. cit., R. B., p. [73]), is a mystery. Burkitt is not satisfied (J. T. S., p. 411).

¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 217 f.

we find that the lucky zero has a numerical value. The present equation is: $2=0$. But what are the cases thus ruled out?

15. Gen. 18, 30: *si invenero*] *Am Tol Co Mar 11514*¹ etc. *si inuenero ibi Ott Cav Mordr cet. Alc* Θ

The basis of *Alc* is apparently furnished by *Mar*, with *ibi* as a marginal addition taken from *Mordr*. It was omitted by *11514*, rightly enough, but adopted, quite naturally, by the other members of *Alc*. It is hard to fit in this case with the genealogy favored by Dom Quentin — *Rorig, 11514, Zur, Grandv, Vall, Paul*. If *11514* depends directly on *Rorig*, why did it omit *ibi*? And if *Zur* depends directly on *11514*, why did it put *ibi* in again?

81. Ruth 2, 31: *nuntiata sunt mihi omnia*] *Am Lugd Laud Cav Mordr 11514* Θ *nuntiata mihi sunt omnia Tol Mar cet. Alc*
Here again the basic text of *Alc* may have been *Mar*, with the variant of *Mordr*, which here is right, in the margin. In this case, it is *11514* that substitutes margin for text; in so doing it has committed a lucky transgression, for *Alc* intended the reading of *Mar* as his text. Again it is hard to see why *Zur*, if depending immediately on *11514*, should have introduced the other order of words.

There are other puzzles confronting the reader, the moment he examines the apparatus criticus with Dom Quentin's stemma in mind. In Deut. 2, 13-14, Manuscript *11514* omits a goodly bit of text — *venimus ad eum. Tempus autem, quo ambulavimus de Cadesbarne usque ad transitum Torrentis Zared, triginta*.¹⁰⁷ The omission is supplied by the second hand in the lower margin, but unless this second hand is a very early one, how could *Zur* get the missing words? Similarly, *Zur* has in Deut. 2, 20 *Zommin* for *Zomzommim*. Would *Grandv*, the next in line, be learned enough to make the correction? In Jud. 2, 9, *Zur* has the curious error of *eiusuae* for *suae*, occasioned, it would seem, by the amalgamation of *eius*, a gloss, with the text. Could *Grandv* have disentangled this snarl? Without stopping for other details of this nature, I would suggest again that the exact

¹⁰⁷ Is 'triginta' really omitted? As 'Zared' precedes 'venimus' we should imagine that the omitted words included 'venimus — Zared.' Still, there is no telling what a scribe can do.

relation of the different members of *Alc* is still to seek, and that the most probable hypothesis to guide us in this search is that of an original edition with a marginal apparatus criticus of the kind that we have seen in *Θ*.

Nor is Dom Quentin any more satisfactory when he examines the origins of Alcuin's recension. It is clear from what he presents that we must reckon with *Mar* and *Mordr* and back of them with *Am*, but I cannot rest content with numerical tables of the sort that he has given or with those that he proceeds to give. In one case he is compelled, in his search for the zero, to coin a felicitous phrase, "un quasi-zéro" (p. 284). From quasi-zeroes, I fear, only quasi-stemmata can be derived. The Alcuinian recension remains to be studied from the ground up. Above all, we must reckon with those highly important sources, the Bibles of Bamberg and Berne, which are here totally neglected. The Bible of Monza, which figures in Berger's list (p. 221), should also be considered. I was permitted to study this book in the Cathedral where it is kept. The script shows the influence of Tours, though it was written, as Berger rightly intimates (p. 222), in some other scriptorium. It deserves a place in the list no less than do *Vall* and *Paul*. Nor can Paris. lat. 47¹⁰⁸ be passed by without a word; it is undoubtedly in the script of St. Martin's, belonging, it would seem, in the same period as the Vivian Bible (which is also given no attention here) though early in that period. Paris. lat. 68 and Brit. Mus. harl. 2805 are both early books, and deserve a fresh examination.¹⁰⁹ What one might hope to find for the Octateuch no less than for the Gospels is some representative of an Irish tradition, a manuscript like the Book of Armagh, which Berger (p. 53) declares to be "absolument hibernien." *Am* is not that, but rather an Italian text, closely connected with that of Cassiodorus, which travelled to the north of England. We should

¹⁰⁸ See Berger, pp. 213, 401. The book is badly mutilated, Berger states, but all of the Octateuch is preserved from Ex. 16, 28 on.

¹⁰⁹ When I examined them, with no knowledge of the nature of their text, I was inclined, with some hesitation, to call them both "pre-alcuinian." Berger puts them under *Alc* (p. 213), but does not appear to have studied them very thoroughly. If the text is surely *Alc*, then they belong in the same stratum as 11514. Possibly they were written in some scriptorium influenced by Tours. See above on 11514, pp. 239 f. *

imagine that Alcuin might have found an Irish text at St. Martin's, and used it among his sources; for there is a period of Irish influence in the development of the script of Tours before his coming. As for the Alcuinians themselves, a final estimate might well induce an editor to save space by casting out the later representatives of this group. Still, even later books, if depending directly on the archetype with its marginal apparatus, may have preserved the original intention of the editor more faithfully than copies which stand nearer to it. Whether we have such a codex in *Rorig*, I gravely doubt. There is nothing, at any rate, in Dom Quentin's formulae that proves this. He himself tends to waver, for later (p. 455) he suddenly finds it appropriate, — as we should expect! — to treat not *Rorig* but *Zur* as the leader of the group.¹¹⁰

We are leagues away from the goal. Quite as in the case of Θ , Dom Quentin's results show us not that we have finished, but that we have just begun, a critical examination of Alcuin's text of the Octateuch.

3. Other Groups of Biblical Manuscripts

Of the other families of biblical manuscripts treated by Dom Quentin — the Spanish, the Cassinian,¹¹¹ the Italian, and that of the University of Paris — I must forego a detailed discussion. Since I have not been encouraged by the results of the new method of comparing little groups of three as illustrated in Θ and *Ale*, I have no reason for trusting it in other cases. I have tested it here and there in the other groups, without finding any inducement to pursue the investigation farther.

A feature of several of the stemmata which Dom Quentin is induced by his method to construct is that the leader of the group is some manuscript previously regarded as somewhat inferior, while more venerable manuscripts are stood upon their

¹¹⁰ P. 455.

¹¹¹ It is noteworthy that in several instances the dates assigned to the members of this group do not accord with those assigned by Lowe in his "Beneventan Script" (1914). The chief point of difference is that none of the manuscripts here cited is given by Lowe an earlier date than the eleventh century, whereas Dom Quentin ascribes three of them to the tenth. If he has fresh evidence on so important a point, it ought to be presented.

heads. The older text is of course not always the better, but we feel a bit uneasy at finding it so frequently the worse. Thus in *Span*, the leader is the Cavensis (*Cav*) of the ninth century, while Toletanus (*Tol*), regarded by palaeographers recently as of the eighth, depends on *Cav* at second hand, with the Complutensis (= *Co*) of the ninth century, intervening. If *Tol*, as Dom Quentin gives some reason for believing, is to be relegated entirely to the tenth century, this stemma is so far intelligible, but not if, as Lowe still thinks, at least parts of it are of the eighth.¹¹² Most surprising is the stemma presented on p. 394, in which the relation of *Span* to certain associated manuscripts is shown. Here *Laud* (Oxon. Bodl. 92), a ninth century manuscript from Würzburg in Insular (English) script, much like the Insular variety cultivated at Fulda, and *Lugd*,¹¹³ an uncial of the eighth century, are both set down as lineal descendants of the Legionensis (Library of St. Isidore of Leon = *Leg*), written in 960. Obviously this amazing¹¹⁴ genealogy must be interpreted in the light of the statement finally made (p. 519) that *Tur Am* and *Ott* are not the very manuscripts from which their respective families derive, but are *similar* to these fountain-heads, and that this remark applies to "tous nos classements." But this fact should have been made clear at the start, and the exact relations of the manuscripts set forth in a stemma in which palaeography is not stood on its head. From the stemma on p. 394 we should naturally infer that *Lugd* and *Laud* are of no value for the text of the group. If they are of the group — for the moment I am taking Dom Quentin's word rather than his proof — their relation should be shown to the common archetype, from which they and *Leg* descend. Whatever their faults, they ought, in view of their superior age, to contribute some-

¹¹² See his article 'On the Date of the Codex Toletanus' in *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXV (1923), pp. 1 ff. Lowe thinks it possible that an incomplete or mutilated copy of the eighth century was later supplemented in the tenth. Cf. again the case of the Morgan Gospels; see above, p. 241.

¹¹³ Paris. nouv. acq. lat. 1740. See above, pp. 224, 229, 236. This book, if written at Lyons, would have been accessible to Theoduif. Its style of uncial script antedates the development of minuscule at Lyons as exhibited by Delisle in *Album Paléographique*, Pl. 19 ff., where four specimens take us from the archbishopric of Leidrad (798-814) to that of Remigius (862-875).

¹¹⁴ So Dom de Bruyne finds it; see R. B., p. [73].

thing towards the reconstruction of that archetype. Similarly, from what we are told of *Cav* and its arbitrary changes of the text (p. 316), we see that it too must be located on a side branch. In brief, the stemma of the Spanish group, no less than of Θ and *Alc*, awaits discovery.¹¹⁵

More than this, I am far from being convinced by Dom Quentin's appeal to the quasi-zero that these manuscripts *Laud* and *Lugd* have been correctly associated with the Spanish group. His method here is first to note "quelques chiffres de concordances" (p. 391) between *Laud* and other manuscripts.

<i>Am</i>	20	<i>Anic</i>	17
<i>Cav</i>	22	<i>Zur</i>	18
<i>Lugd</i>	25	<i>Leg</i>	25
<i>Tol</i>	23	<i>Ros</i>	21

I take it that he has compiled these figures after searching the entire apparatus of his 91 test readings and that he is presenting the coincidences which bulk largest in number. But let us note (1) that, as ever, the data are drawn from only a tiny section of the entire text under discussion; (2) that we need to know the nature of these coincidences as well as their number; and (3) that the figures show really very little difference. How can we know whether these proportions will be maintained in the remainder of the text? And how can we be sure that the agreements are in significant errors, of the kind that determines the relation of families? Perhaps it is so, but when I examine the cases cited in the present discussion,¹¹⁶ the only one that seems of real significance suggests a grouping of *Laud* with *Alc* rather than with *Span*.

85. Ruth 2, 13: ante oculos tuos] *Am Cav Tol Mar Mordr etc.*
apud oculos tuos *Lugd Laud Alc* Θ

This latter reading looks like deliberate emendation or the acceptance of a gloss for the text. It suggests a community of origin for *Lugd* and *Laud*, which source was followed by *Alc* and Θ . What the nature of this original text was remains to be seen. Perhaps it can be proved to be Spanish, but that proof is still to come.

¹¹⁵ See Dom de Bruyne, R. B., pp. [73], [75].

¹¹⁶ Pp. 391-392.

Now that Dom Quentin has shown, to his own satisfaction, that *Laud* is a member of *Span*, he proceeds to find its relations to the other members of that group. *Cav* is the leader, *Leg* was the most closely related to *Laud*; and therefore he tests these three. We get as usual a quasi-zero in which only one case blocks the way.

$$Cav > Leg < Laud = (54) = 1$$

But what is this case?

54. Deut. 2, 19: non enim dabo tibi de terra filiorum Ammon] *Am Ott Lugd Laud Cav Mar Alc Θ k(de Theo incertum est)* dabo tibi terram filiorum Ammon *Gall¹ Tol Co Leg*, etc.

The variant, an emendation, is found in Sangallensis 2, saec. VIII (= *Gall*), and in many *Span*, though not in *Cav*. *Leg* has received this error, and yet *Leg*, according to Dom Quentin, stands half-way between *Cav*, which is here correct, and *Laud*, which is also correct. How could *Laud* get the right reading if it descended immediately from *Leg*?

For *Lugd*, Dom Quentin simply tells us (p. 393), without citing figures, that it agrees most frequently with *Leg*. He then proceeds to find its place in the stemma in the familiar way, comparing it with *Cav* and *Leg*. Here, unhappily, the quasi-zero is as large as 3.

$$Cav > Leg < Lugd = (49, 53, 54) = 3$$

One of the three cases is the one just discussed, where *Lugd* no less than *Laud* is correct, and yet is supposed to descend immediately from the incorrect *Leg*. To bring the three cases nearer to zero, Dom Quentin assumes an intervening X, so that the quasi-zero amounts merely to 1.

$$Lugd > Leg < X = (58) = 1$$

But this X is most curiously placed in the stemma. It is immediately under *Cav* (p. 394), with all the other manuscripts directly depending on it. This does not remedy the situation at all. *Lugd* should be placed on an off-shoot from that X, as *Bern* was in the divisions of Θ.¹¹⁷ The result for *Span* is a quasi-stemma indeed.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 218.

Nor can we accept as a sure guide the principles stated on p. 349 as to the relation of *Span* to *Alc* and Θ . Here, of a sudden, despite the previous exaltation of *Cav* to the headship of this group, it is now *Tol* that is taken as typical of the group.¹¹⁸ The principles stated by Dom Quentin are:

(1) The Spanish group forms a new branch in the tradition of the Vulgate.

(2) It is independent of the Alcuinian and Theodulfian groups.

(3) The three groups combined — *Alcuin*, *Theod*, and *Tolet* — set forth all of our characteristic variants, and in consequence it is not necessary to investigate any other branch of the tradition.

These results are of the utmost importance, if correct. One can forgive the previous failures to arrange the members of the three groups in the correct sequence, if we may be sure of the reading of each group as a unit. One pleasant little surprise is also quietly thrown in; the manuscript chosen to represent Θ is not *Hub*, as we might expect, but *Theo*! When Dom Quentin puts his stemmata into action, his leading manuscripts are suddenly demoted, and those to which a lowly place was assigned by the iron rule of little groups of three, now bear the brunt of the engagement. Accepting this outcome with satisfaction, we may now agree that in the presence of three independent lines of tradition we may be tolerably sure of reconstructing the text.

It looks, then, as if light had suddenly dawned amidst a cloudy and uncertain sky. The course of the investigator thus far may suggest the pathway taken by the digger of a tunnel in a hill. He starts at A, intending to come out at B. He has pursued a circuitous route — but if after all we arrive at B, we are where we hoped to be.

However, let us examine the ground, for I fear that a disappointment is in store. To begin with, though *Span* (*Tol*) may be independent of *Alc* and *Theo*, *Theo* is not independent of *Alc*. It draws some of its strength from that source, as Dom Quentin has abundantly shown. We cannot therefore apply our easy

¹¹⁸ Cf. his wavering treatment of *Zur* and *Rorig* in *Alc*. See above p. 247.

principle of two against one with utter confidence. Thus in Reading No. 24,¹¹⁹ *Alc* and *Theod* agree in accepting *ad hauriendam aquam* against *Tol*, which has *ad hauriendas aquas*. But the former reading is wrong. It is a conjectural emendation introduced, it would seem, by Alcuin and borrowed by Theodulf. The correct reading, given by older manuscripts, is found in *Tol*; but to know that it is correct, we have to examine other sources besides the three families *Alc*, *Span*, and Θ .

Further, after what we have seen, it is by no means clear that *Span* is independent of Θ . I have given reason for showing that Θ is based on a Spanish source, just as Berger thought. Perhaps it may be a source different from *Tol*. If so, our first duty is to reconstruct that Spanish source. If Spain furnished two independent lines of tradition, we may perhaps match them with *Alc*, with occasional but uncertain help from Θ . But the atmosphere has become murky again; we are still in the bowels of the earth, tunnelling for the light.

IV

AMIATINUS, OTTOBONIANUS, AND TURONENSIS AS THE MAIN SOURCES OF THE TEXT

We come now to the chief conclusion towards which the special analyses have led. For the second time all the perplexities in which they are involved appear to vanish at the waving of the magician's wand. For, after all, the only necessary determinants of the text are just three manuscripts, the leaders of the entire tradition, *Amiatinus*, *Ottobonianus*, and *Turonensis*. They are the primal ancestors respectively of the Alcuinian, the Theodulfian, and the Spanish recensions, and are independent one of another. If we appeal to them, therefore, rather than to the three groups *Alc*, *Theo*, and *Tol*, as we have just endeavored to do, we can establish the text by the testimony of two witnesses against one. There are, unhappily, some lacunae in *Ott* and very serious gaps in *Tur*, but even so

¹¹⁹ He conveniently repeats his 91 cases (pp. 350 f.), citing merely the groups *Alc*, *Theod*, *Tolet*.

there remain comparatively few cases in which the testimony of the three witnesses seems in doubt.

First of all, we must be grateful to Dom Quentin for a new and careful description of each of these all-important books. It seems clear, further, that *Am* is somehow connected with *Alc*, *Tur* with *Span*, and *Ott* with Θ , even though, as Dom Quentin ultimately admits, they are not the immediate ancestors in any one of these cases. On the other side, we saw that the source of Θ was far more probably, as Berger believed, a Spanish text. We have also learned to distrust any result obtained by Dom Quentin through his mechanical method, applied to a mere fragment of the text of the Octateuch. We have seen the necessity of reconstructing anew *Alc*, *Span*, and Θ , for whatever the relation of these groups to one another, they are obviously to be numbered among the bulwarks of the tradition. Still, though the special genealogies are unconvincingly deduced, we can be tolerably sure from Dom Quentin's apparatus what in general the Alcuinian, what the Theodulfian, and what the Spanish reading is in the important cases. At least when they agree against the later groups on which the Clementine text depends, we can be sure that the Clementine text is wrong.

Moreover, though the exact relation of the three leaders to the three main groups is still to seek, they are declared to be independent of one another. This seems a condition, as Dom de Bruyne and Dr. Burkitt agree,¹²⁰ almost too good to be true. They both apprehend as possible that no one of the three represents a straight descent from the archetype, but rather the result of the crossing and recrossing of various traditions. But, on the other hand, it seems probable that the three manuscripts are, first of all, geographically distinct. *Am*, however the problem of its initial gathering be settled,¹²¹ has preserved, with whatever Northumbrian modifications, a South Italian and Cassiodorian text, which came back to Italy from England.

¹²⁰ R. B., p [74]; J. T. S., p. 412.

¹²¹ Dom Quentin (pp. 484 ff.) gives reasons against the view held by some that this gathering was once a part of a manuscript from Cassiodorus's own library. In the judgment of Professor Morey, the character of the illumination still furnishes ground for such a belief.

The provenience of *Ott* is unknown. If it should somehow be associated with Θ , as seems likely, it, or a related manuscript, should have been not too remote from Orléans. The character of the ornamentation, so far as may be judged from the facsimile given by Dom Quentin (p. 434), suggests something Merovingian. If the original manuscript, or its relative, were in South France or Northern Spain, the conditions would apparently be met. This would comport with the theory to which, following Berger, I am inclined, that the source of Θ was a manuscript of the Spanish tradition. At any rate in *Ott* we have a line independent of *Am* and *Ale*; the summaries of chapters and sections are different from any yet known.¹²² Certain errors reported by Dom Quentin (p. 435) indicate that the text descends, with not too many intermediaries, from an ancient uncial script. One clue to a possible stopping-place of the manuscript in the course of its travels appears in Ex. 2, 5, where *autem* is said to be added in an Irish hand; it would be interesting to know if there are other such corrections in this book.

The provenience of *Tur*, which Dom Quentin (p. 414) calls our most important manuscript, has been much debated. The animals in its pictures are so admirably portrayed, that Dom Quentin thinks the artist may have drawn from life, and even that we may locate his lions in North Africa (p. 431). Professor C. R. Morey, an especially competent judge, regards the artistic style displayed in this manuscript as that of southern Spain, and Berger, too, calls the art Spanish (p. 11). So far as the transmission of texts is concerned, the difference between southern Spain and northern Africa is not great, whether or no the artist ever actually heard the roar of his lions. As is clear in the case of Dracontius and a large part of the *Anthologia Latina*, an avenue of tradition led from Northern Africa up through Spain. At all events, there seems to be a connection of *Tur* with the text of *Span*, as Dom Quentin believes (pp. 430 ff.); and, as he also indicates, there are two different families among the Spanish books, one seen in *Cav* and one in

¹²² P. 435. It is curious, then, if Dom Quentin is right as to the connection of *Ott* and Θ , that there is no trace of them in Θ .

Tol, the former being more closely related to *Tur* (p. 349). This matter should be cleared up — though not by an appeal to little groups of three — before we can be confident of our procedure. The character of the later hand that supplies some of the missing pages in *Tur* might tell us something of the history of the book.

For the moment, we may accept as at least a priori possible the assumption that the three manuscripts are independent, and follow Dom Quentin in his testing of the theory. At this point he declares that he will now consider, as he has not considered before, the intrinsic nature of the readings. He stoutly maintains that for the classification of manuscripts good and bad readings have the same effect, “mais le classement une fois obtenu, il faut voir si ses résultats sont d'accord avec les autres données du problème critique, c'est à-dire avec la langue habituelle de l'écrivain, sa grammaire, ses sources et, avant tout, avec le bon sens” (p. 466). Nothing could be more refreshing than these words, and nothing more patent than the display of good sense in the examination of the chosen passages that follows.¹²³ He begins with some admirable remarks on the nature of St. Jerome's translation, which was purposely not too literal. St. Jerome eschews a Ciceronian elegance, which he admires in its proper place, but is none the less intent on attaining good style in the *genus tenue* of popular speech. The result is a version which, as Dom Quentin neatly observes (p. 463), is less Hebraic in flavor than the translations that had preceded.

The illustrative passages are taken from Gen. 1–23. In general, one may see that in them Dom Quentin's final principle seems to work. Before attempting an estimate of its nature, I will add a note or two on some of the passages.¹²⁴

¹²³ But this survey by no means corroborates his method of classifying the manuscripts, which is conspicuous for its deficiency in “good sense.” The kind of consideration that Dom Quentin now bestows on critical problems should have been exercised at every stage in the previous discussion.

¹²⁴ Some of these are discussed by Dom de Bruyne and Dr. Burkitt. The latter (J. T. S., p. 413) criticizes Dom Quentin for reporting the readings on Gen. 3, 15 (‘*ipsa conteret*’) with apparent inadequacy (compared with Berger). On Gen. 4, 6 (J. T. S., p. 412; R. B., p. [74]) both critics reject his defence of ‘*maestus*’ (Am. Tur). To my mind, Dom Quentin here proves his point.

12 (p. 469) Gen. 8: cunctorumque animantium *AM TUR Cav Anic Theo ed. Clem.* cunctarumque animantium *OTT Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Co Tol Osc*

"Saint Jérôme, comme les classiques, fait *animans* masculin et neutre." This is a surprising statement, as a glance at Neue, *Formenlehre*, I², p. 610, will show; there are plentiful occurrences of the feminine in classical Latinity. If *cunctarum* is wrong, we must assume independent error (1) in *Ott*, (2) in *Alc*, which followed *Mordr Mar*, (3) in the Spanish group of which *Tol* is the leader. If *cunctorum* is wrong, as I am inclined to think, it occurred independently — and it is an easier error to make ¹²⁵ — (1) in *Am*, (2) in *Tur*, which we now suspect to be the ancestor of the *Cav* branch of *Span*, (3) in that Spanish manuscript which was the ancestor of *Θ*. If that manuscript was of the *Tur-Cav* type, the error was independently committed but twice. *Tur* and *Cav* are found associated in error elsewhere (e.g. Nos. 2, 12, 14, 15, 36, 38), but other cases show that the younger manuscript does not depend on the older one directly. There is enough connection, however, to warrant a thorough study of this matter.

16 (p. 469) Gen. 8, 17: multiplicamini super terram *OTT TUR multiplicamini super eam AM Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Anic Theo Cav Co Tol Osc ed. Clem*

The two major witnesses are supported by both the Hebrew and the Greek. Dom Quentin does admit that St. Jerome might have chosen *eam* for greater elegance, but he prefers to follow the rule of two against one. Yet if *eam* is wrong, we have to account for its presence in *Span* (*Cav Co Tol*). Did *Alc* make its way into Spain? Perhaps it did, but for the moment I vote for *eam*, which would readily suggest *terram* as a gloss in more than one tradition.

19 (p. 470) Gen. 9, 4: cum sanguinem *OTT TUR Geo¹ cum sanguine cett*

Here is a case in which Dom Quentin deviates from his rule in the interests of good sense. We must allow for common but independent errors of this sort, recognizing the medium of

¹²⁵ Cf. 'cuncta animantia' in v. 17.

vulgar Latin through which the oldest manuscripts were transmitted. Similar is No. 48 (Gen. 26, 19: in torrentem).

16 (p. 473) Gen. 16, 7: (iuxta fontem in solitudine) qui est in deserto Sur *AM TUR* qui est in deserto in via Sur *OTT Geo* qui est in via Sur in deserto *Mordr Zur Vall Paul Ital ed. Clem* I have not cited the full apparatus given by Dom Quentin, and I cannot review in detail his elaborate defence of the reading of *Am Tur*. I agree with Dom de Bruyne (p. [74]) in deciding for *qui est in via Sur*, the reading of the Hebrew and the Greek, regarding *in deserto* — which certainly is tautologous after *in solitudine* — as an intrusion from the Old Latin. The only manuscripts that do not have it are *Tol Osc Matrit*. The combination *in via Sur* (whether or not *in deserto* is added) is found in all the manuscripts except *Am Tur Casin Burg*, which do not have *in via*, and *Leg Hist Anic Theo*, which have *in via in deserto Sur*. The suspicious phrase — already suspicious on account of the tautology and its absence from the Hebrew and the Greek — is *in deserto*. Dom de Bruyne completes this demonstration by pointing out that *in deserto* could have been interpolated from the Old Latin. After it was once in, either prepositional phrase could readily be omitted through the carelessness of the scribe. Here then is another source of common but independent error on the part of the leading manuscripts — the presence of readings from the Old Latin. Dom Quentin points out that this is especially true of *Ott*¹²⁶ (p. 436), but there are signs of it in *Tur* (pp. 429 ff.), and the fact that certain external features of *Am* come from the Old Latin (pp. 445 ff.) should prepare us for an occasional touch of the ancient text in *Am*.¹²⁷ We may perhaps apply this principle to the following case.

39 (p. 477) Gen. 19, 8: sub umbraculum tegminis mei *AM OTT TUR Anic Geo*² sub umbraculum culminis mei *Theo Gep* sub umbra culminis mei *Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Cav Co Tol Osc ed. Clem*

¹²⁶ See Burkitt, J. T. S., p. 436.

¹²⁷ At least one case is recognized by Dom Quentin, No. 70 (p. 484) Ex. 2, 14: 'occidere me vis.'

The concordance of the three major witnesses settles the case for Dom Quentin, and he reads *sub umbraculum tegminis mei*, explaining the error of *Mar Mordr* etc. as due to the omission of the syllables *um teg*. This is a curious omission to make. If that is the source of the error, manuscripts that show it are clearly of the same group. In this case, *Span* shows the influence of *Alc*. That possibility has lifted its head already, and deserves investigation. But this explanation does not account for the reading of *Theo Gep*, and it should give place to one much simpler, namely that either *culminis* or *tegminis* is a gloss on the other. Again Dom de Bruyne comes to the rescue (p. [74]) with the information that St. Jerome does not use *tegmen*, *tegimen*, *tegumentum*, which occur in the Old Latin. Again, then, this source has furnished the gloss. We should read *sub umbraculum culminis mei*; St. Jerome might not have noticed the assonance — or he might have liked it. The omission of *um cul* on account of homoioteleuton is easy enough for more than one scribe to make. The condition of the text in Θ is interesting. Its basic codex had *sub umbraculum tegminis mei*, in the margin of which *culminis* was added from *Alc* (though *umbraculum* was not changed to *umbra*). It is *Anic* in this case that faithfully preserves the intention of Theodulf, while *Theo* and *Gep* substitute the marginal variant, committing a happy transgression, if *culminis* is right.

47 (p. 479) Gen. 26, 17: descendens *AM OTT TUR Mordr Co Tol Osc* discedens *Mar Rorig Zur Anic Theo Cav*
Here Dom Quentin wisely departs from his rule, as independent scribal error is easy.

49 (p. 480) Gen. 27, 49: venationem tuam *AM TUR Co Tol Osc Leg* de venatione tua *OTT Cav Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Anic*
Dom Quentin decides by his rule; it is a hard decision to explain. As the accusative is the reading of the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Old Latin, why should the different branches which contain *de venatione tua* have independently introduced this reading? I think, therefore, that St. Jerome wrote *de venatione tua*, the other reading being introduced from the Old

Latin.¹²⁸ For other infusions of the Old Latin, see Nos. 51, 61, 69. *Ott* is involved in No. 51, and *Tur* in No. 69.

56 (p. 481) Gen. 28, 2: ad domum Bathuel patrem matris tuae *AM TUR Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Anic Theo Cav Co Tol Osc* ad domum Bathuel patris matris tuae *OTT*

Here all the manuscripts but *Ott* are involved in a palpable grammatical error. Dom Quentin would retain it, saying that it was introduced to avoid the unpleasant assonance *patris matris*. But that is not a remedy which a writer like St. Jerome, or any writer, would apply. It is an error that a scribe might slip into on account of the accusative preceding; at the same time it hardly could be independently committed in so many branches. I think it is to be regarded as a mistake on the part of St. Jerome himself, occurring at a moment of mental aberration, such as comes to the best of men; for once we have the right to correct him—as *Ott* did—for the reason that he would have corrected himself.

63 (p. 482) Gen. 31, 52: in testimonio *AM TUR Mordr Mar Rorig Zur Anic Theo Cav Co Osc* in testimonium *OTT Tol*

Dom Quentin assumes a faulty condition of the archetype, not only on account of this variant, but because of the position of *testis erit* and the inclusion or omission of *sint*. He refrains from discussion because of the difficulty of the problem—but he might at least have furnished the reader with the data on which he based so important a decision.

64 (pp. 482 f.) Gen. 31, 55: benedixit illis reversusque est in locum suum] This is the Clementine text. The variants concern *reversusque est*: reversus *AM TUR Tol Osc* reversusque *OTT* reversus est *Mar* reversusque est *Mordr Rorig Zur Cav revertens Anic Theo¹ Leg Burg Matrit*

¹²⁸ Burkitt, J. T S., p. 412, arguing against accepting 'maestus' in Gen. 4, 6, calls Dom Quentin's reference to St. Jerome's desire for variety "a reasonable plea," and adds, "but if we bear it in mind, it is scarcely cogent when comparing 'venationem tuam' (Am Tur) with 'de venatione tua' (Ott) in Gen. 27, 7 to argue for the former because the accusative is the form in the Hebrew and the Greek and the Old Latin." He apparently would charge Dom Quentin with inconsistency, but agree with him on 'venationem.' I should say that each case should be settled on the score of the greater probabilities.

By the rule of two against one, Dom Quentin declares the reading of the archetype to be *reversus*. As this is incorrect, he restores, with a certain boldness, *reversurus* as the form intended by St. Jerome. I think that something might be said for *reversusque est* as the reading of the archetype. If *est* were omitted, as it might be independently in more than one branch, an attempt at correction might occur in the further omission of *que*. The reading of the Lyons Pentateuch (not our *Lugd* but an Old Latin version), *et revertens Laban abiit in locum suum*, shows that Theodulf may have turned to this source. If Dom Quentin's conjecture is accepted, we may call *reversus* a careless slip on the part of either St. Jerome or his amanuensis. But I am not altogether won over to this suggestion.

To this array of passages from Genesis, Dom Quentin now appends a few cases taken from his selected list.

71 (p. 484) Ex. 2, 22: *alterum vero . . . de manu Pharaonis* See above, p. 233; the passage was most probably not in the archetype, but not because the archetype was faulty.

80 (p. 486) Num. 6, 15: *conspersi sunt* (*conspersi sint*) The difference between *sunt* and *sint* is negligible as a means of distinguishing the families. But the whole passage, as Dom Quentin shows, involves either a confusion in the archetype or a mistranslation by St. Jerome. I should vote for the latter possibility. Some errors of misunderstanding on his part there may well have been, quite apart from the momentary lapses like No. 49 (*patrem*).

A case similar to No. 80 is, in my opinion, that discussed by Dom Quentin on pp. 488 f.:

Gen. 24, 32: *et (Laban) introduxit eum in hospitium: ac destravit camelos, deditque paleas et foenum et aquam ad lavandos pedes camelorum et virorum qui venerant cum eo* *Camelorum*, the reading of all the manuscripts, is corrected to *eius* in the Clementine edition. This courtesy to the camels seems a bit extraordinary, and is not sanctioned by the Hebrew, the Greek, or the Old Latin. But it seems a strange error for a scribe to introduce carelessly or for an editor to add as an improvement. I am inclined — especially now that I find Dom

de Bruyne of the same opinion ¹²⁹ — to attribute the change to St. Jerome himself or, perhaps, to the Hebrew text that he followed.¹³⁰

The supposition of the descent of all our manuscripts from an archetype infected with a certain amount of error is a most important one if true. It is only too often the situation that confronts the editor of a classical text. If it is also true for the Vulgate, we at once lose part of our hope of restoring St. Jerome's original from the three leading manuscripts. Their concurrence will give us immediately not that original but a faulty copy of it. There will thus be opened a field for conjectural emendation, into which Dom Quentin has already made one modest inroad. It may well be that besides the cases which Dom Quentin thinks he has detected, others are latent and deserve the attention of conjectural critics. We may have, therefore, after all, to pay more attention to the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Old Latin, in case a deviation from them, and especially from the Hebrew, may represent not the words of St. Jerome, but the error of the faulty archetype.

However, in the case of a work like the Vulgate, which was steadily copied from the days of St. Jerome through the Dark Ages into the Carolingian Renaissance, the supposition of a descent of all our manuscripts from one faulty archetype becomes hard to maintain. In the presence of at least two traditions geographically distinct, one through Spain and one through South Italy via England, and with the strong possibility of a third separate tradition through Spain, perhaps coming from North Africa, it is hazardous to assume, with the number of copies available in Italy, that the three lines started with same faulty Italian archetype. When the three witnesses agree in obvious, or probable, error, we should first allow for the possibility of independent scribal mistakes, some of them occasioned by the corrupting influence of vulgar Latin, and then for

¹²⁹ R. B., p. [74].

¹³⁰ Having 'their feet' for 'his feet.' After all, the phrase 'introduxit eum in hospitium' takes care of the entertainment of the servant of Abraham; what follows ('destravit camelos deditque paleas et foenum et aquam ad lavandos pedes') might well be thought to refer to the accommodation of his beasts and his men. It may be a reasoned error on the part of St. Jerome.

the independent substitution of the readings of the Old Latin. We should then admit a third kind of error, as Dom Quentin does, for which St. Jerome is responsible, and which would therefore be reproduced in all branches of the tradition, unless corrected later by some discerning copyist or copyists. Some of these errors, as I have indicated, might result from a momentary lapse on the part of the translator, some from a misunderstanding on his part. We cannot assume too many of these failings in the case of a scholar like St. Jerome, but some there may well have been. Now of the instances presented by Dom Quentin, I can discover none that cannot be disposed of in this fashion. Perhaps we should also reckon with the possibility that St. Jerome himself included some marginal variants, especially from the Old Latin. Perhaps there is other evidence to support Dom Quentin's theory, for in the present study he gives us only a fragment of the relevant data. We need to know all the facts before we can accept or reject his hypothesis. A verdict of *non liquet* is all that can be rendered now.¹³¹

IV

CONCLUSION

What bed-rock of certainty remains as the result of Dom Quentin's careful report of the manuscripts, his novel and elaborate method of testing their evidence by little groups of three, and his application of critical acumen and *bon sens* to the testimony of the three leading manuscripts of the tradition? I am forced to conclude that his mathematical tables are of no value whatsoever. They have caused him to waste his time in long hours of fruitless calculations of an arithmetical sort which throw no light on the actualities of the text. I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that this method will play no further part in the criticism of the text of the Vulgate or of any other text. Whatever has been done on the basis of it in the present study will all have to be done over again. The long preamble can be thrown away.

¹³¹ Dom de Bruyne, R. B., p. [74], evidently is not satisfied with Dom Quentin's demonstration of the faulty archetype.

But the triumphant achievement of the book is the establishment of an essentially sound text of the Vulgate on the foundation of the three leading manuscripts, *Amiatinus*, *Ottobonianus*, *Turonensis*. Scholars may think this discovery too good to be true, and they may differ as to particular decisions. Dom de Bruyne¹³² may also be right in objecting to the final form of the apparatus, which limits the possibilities of correctness too narrowly to the major three; for at times one must appeal to the other manuscripts. But details aside, the result is a text of the Vulgate at least vastly superior to the Clementine Edition which Dom Quentin undertook to reform. If the Pontifical Commission goes no farther than the procedure illustrated in the specimen chapter presented at the end (p. 415), it will have justified the purpose for which it was established.

It would be a pity, however, not to press nearer to the ultimate goal, a really critical text of the Vulgate. First of all, we need to supplement the testimony of *Am Ott Tur* by a sound reconstruction of the subordinate groups and a more exact determination of their relation to the three leading manuscripts. This cannot be done without the collation of certain manuscripts thus far neglected by Dom Quentin, particularly in the Alcuinian group. We should also not exclude the testimony of certain manuscripts of great age which play a minor rôle in Dom Quentin's studies, especially the *Lugdunensis* and the book of Winitharius (*Sangallensis* 2), both of these codices being of the eighth century. It may well be that when the readings of these and other books — such as the *Laudianus* — are weighed for their meaning, instead of being reduced to mathematical formulae, their relation to the groups will appear altogether different from that assigned them by Dom Quentin on the basis of his novel and unsatisfactory tests. But above all, the results should not be submitted to the inspection of scholars till the entire text of the Octateuch has been examined. We should like above all things to know just how many readings there are in this entire stretch of text that seem to show the derivation of all existing copies from a faulty archetype rather than from the text of St. Jerome himself.

¹³² R. B., p. [75].

But whatever the future labors of the Pontifical Commission, a great step forward has been taken, thanks to the vast learning and elaborate investigations of Dom Quentin. Whatever may be the verdict of the experts as to his new method or as to his tentative results in determining the families of manuscripts, the text that he proposes is a solid contribution to the truth. One most gratifying outcome of his labors is that though Protestant scholars have been somewhat impatient at the dilatoriness of the Roman See in putting its sanctioned text of Holy Scripture on a firm and scientific foundation, it is found, when at last the work is begun and the result of it glimmers through these preliminary essays, that the accepted text of the Clementine Edition is, after all, not radically perverse. The new investigations have introduced no revolutionary upheavals. When Cardinal Caraffa proposed his list of alterations, it is not surprising that, despite the thoroughness with which he had gathered them from excellent sources, they should not have impressed Pope Sixtus V as of the kind that clamor for acceptance.¹³³ They are not novelties such as, for instance, Aldus introduced into the text of Pliny in 1508. Nothing profound is gained by the new recension. Nothing profound has been lost by waiting for it. It would have been a disaster if a critical edition had been attempted, say, in 1850, when the full meaning of the editor's task was only beginning to be understood. We have much to learn now, especially about palaeography and the art of illumination. But the time is ripe for the new edition, and, whatever its final form, it will last for many a year to come. The mills of Rome grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small.

¹³³ See Dom Quentin's admirable remarks, p. 183.

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND
THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN GIESSEN, GERMANY

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BnLG	Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte. Heidelberg, Winter.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft.
HThR	Harvard Theological Review.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
IkZ	Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift.
KSt	Kantstudien. Berlin, Reuther und Reichard.
KÅ	Kirkohistoriska Årsskrift.
NoTT	Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift.
PrJ	Preussische Jahrbücher.
RKl	Die Religion der Klassiker. Berlin-Schöneberg, Protestantischer Schriftenvertrieb (now Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht).
SV	Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte. Tübingen, Mohr.
StGnPr	Studien zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus. Giessen, Töpelmann.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.

I. GENERAL

Ammundsen, Valdemar, Kirkehistorie. Vol. II, pt. II. 256 pp. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1911-16. — *Aner, Karl*, Das Luthervolk. Ein Gang durch die Geschichte seiner Frömmigkeit. viii, 164 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917. — *Dilthey, Wilhelm*, Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. II. Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation. xii, 528 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1914. — *Grützmacher, Richard H.*, Alt- und Neuprotestantismus. Eine geistes- und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung. xii, 119 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1920; Die geistes- und theologiegeschichtliche Entwicklung des Problems: Alt- und Neuprotestantismus (Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift 26, 1915, 709-753, 789-825, 865-914); Die alt- und neuprotestantische Auffassung von der Kirche (*ibid.* 27, 1916, 467-497, 535-572, 615-641, 691-741); Alt- und neuprotestantische Ethik (*ibid.* 28, 1917, 188-228, 303-343, 435-456, 693-740; 29, 1918, 213-285, 315-326). — *Hoffmann, Heinrich*, Der neuere Protestantismus und die Reformation (StGnPr 11). 59 pp. 1919. — *Holl, Karl*, Die Bedeutung der grossen Kriege für das religiöse und kirchliche Leben innerhalb des deutschen Protestantismus. 131 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917. — *Sapper, Karl*, Neuprotestantismus. x, 170 pp. Munich, Beck, 1914; Der Werdegang des Protestantismus in vier Jahrhunderten. viii, 393 pp. *ibid.* 1917. — *Cândeia, Romulus*, Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern; sein Verhältnis zu Staat und Gesellschaft (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte 36). x, 139 pp. Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917. — *Merkle, Sebastian*, and *Bernhard Bess*, Religiöse Erzieher der katholischen Kirche aus den letzten vier Jahrhunderten. viii, 349 pp. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1920.

It is a characteristic of German scholarship to see problems and to work with them in the solution of intellectual and spiritual questions. Certainly it is a praiseworthy trait in the field of history that it follows the inner relation of events and cannot rest until all the subtlest threads are discovered. Such a problem is presented in the rise of the modern world of thought and the inquiry as to the factors which have contributed to it. In von Below's book on the causes of the Reformation, referred to at the beginning of my third article (HThR, Jan. 1924, pp. 5 f.), the question is discussed, among others, whether the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times is really to be found in Luther and his work. Von Below thinks it is, but other writers assign a much stronger influence in the formation of modern thought, including religious thought, to the so-called 'Enlightenment.' From this discussion has come the recognition of a new contrast — that between 'old Protestantism' and 'new Protestantism,' the distinction lying in their different attitudes

towards the metaphysical element in the Christianity of the church. While the old Protestantism, following Luther and the other men of the Reformation, holds fast to the traditional supernaturalism of the church, and so to the whole system of church dogma (the trinity, and the union of God and man in Christ), the new Protestantism, under the influence of the new conception of the universe (Copernicus) and the new philosophical attitude (rationalism) of the Enlightenment, has broken with this whole realm of ideas, without, nevertheless, abandoning its claim to appeal to the Reformation, and especially to Luther as the hero of its own period of origin. Although Troeltsch († Jan. 30, 1923) is recognized as being the leader among scholars who have occupied themselves with studying the development of the new Protestantism, yet he was himself strongly influenced in the formation of his ideas by the works of the Berlin philosopher, Wilhelm Dilthey († 1911). *Dilthey* did not find leisure during his lifetime to write a work giving a synthesis of his whole outlook on the history of modern thought, bringing together the results of his numerous monographs; but the publication of his collected works has now been undertaken by Teubner. The volume which has appeared during the period under review contains the following papers, every one of them full of valuable observations and attesting the profound thought of the author: 'Auffassung und Analyse des Menschen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert'; 'Das natürliche System der Geisteswissenschaften'; 'Die Autonomie des Denkens'; 'Giordano Bruno'; 'Der entwicklungsgeschichtliche Pantheismus'; 'Aus der Zeit der Spinozastudien Goethes'; 'Die Funktion der Anthropologie in der Kultur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.' Dilthey writes for the mature student, but those who can follow him will be richly rewarded. Anyone interested in the spiritual development of the modern man will find no more profitable reading than these essays.¹ While Dilthey was the first to present the psycho-

¹ The fourth volume of the collection (1921, 533 pp.) comprises 'Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels und andere Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Idealismus' (Kant, Baur, Schleiermacher, etc.), and an essay on the development of Carlyle and his place in the Transcendentalist movement.

logical and cultural effects of the Reformation consistently and concretely from the point of view of the neo-protestant philosophy of religion, he had predecessors, notably Richard Rothe, and indeed the problem was recognized in the period of the idealistic philosophy of the early nineteenth century, and in some measure even earlier. To make this plain, and at the same time to elucidate the problem on its dogmatic and ethical sides, is the aim of *Grützmacher's* stimulating essays. His own attitude toward this supposed progress in religious development is frankly skeptical, his position being, in the language of our church parties, that of the "modern-positive" view. He rejects the basic assumption of Dilthey's and Troeltsch's mode of thought, the evolutionary view of history, and holds that the old-protestant type of piety which is at the same time that of primitive Christianity, has not been left behind or superseded by a superior and perfected neo-protestantism; on the contrary the nature of this neo-protestantism, with reference to religion and the history of thought, is only to be understood when it is seen to be an old error revived in a new form, the error, namely, of trying to keep Protestant Christianity alive by a syncretistic combination with it of elements, ancient and modern, drawn from the general history of religion and of thought. In Grützmacher's opinion, all that Christianity needs is the maintenance of its eternal, super-historical character in precisely that form of its historical revelation in which it was renewed by the Reformation (Luke 5, 39). It is to be regretted that the circumstances of the time have prevented Grützmacher from presenting his views in a comprehensive work, but his book named first in the bibliography above gives the main results of his penetrating studies, valuable even for those who do not share his views. Nowhere has the problem, as it has developed in the history of thought and of theology, been more fully treated. — This book should however be supplemented by *Hoffmann's* fine monograph. In four sections (1. History of the problem; 2. Characteristics of neo-protestantism; 3. Origin of the neo-protestant elements; 4. Relation of the main currents of neo-protestantism to the Reformation, especially to the Reformation doctrine of justifying faith) he assembles all that is essential, with sound critical

discussions. — The first named of *Sapper's* books gives in a sympathetic manner a systematic outline of neo-protestant theology.

Of the projected general history of the modern church by *Ammundsen*, continuing Nielsen's Church History, we have so far only a fragment, in which the author treats the religious history of the period from about 1730 to about 1800, beginning with a broad survey of the characteristics of the Enlightenment and following it through England, America, France, Italy, and Germany. German Idealism and Scandinavian Rationalism will be treated in a later part. — *Sapper's* second book is a good presentation of the development of Protestantism to the present, dealing with the constitution and organization of the Protestant churches only so far as these things are an inseparable part of fundamental Protestantism. The book is written for educated general readers as well as for scholars. — This is also the aim of *Aner's* book. It gives a picture of German Lutheranism somewhat like Gustav Freytag's widely known "Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit," itself one of the best books on social history in the German language. *Aner* has not written a history of religious ideas, or of the theories and positions of the leading theologians of each period, but tries to depict the religious life of the laity, and so, as it were, to catch the heart-throbs of the period. His material is drawn from contemporary poetry, autobiographies, diaries, and letters. His portrayal is effective and clarifying. — *Holl* moves on a high level, as is his wont. His book is based on war-lectures delivered in Warsaw and Vilna in 1916, for the Zentral-ausschuss für Innere Mission. Taking the two chief wars fought by Germany on her own soil — the Thirty Years War and the War of Liberation at the beginning of the 19th century — he traces their effects on ecclesiastical and religious life, and succeeds in bringing together in brief compass a surprising amount of fresh matter. Both the beginnings of Pietism in the 17th century and the so-called Awakening of the 19th, appear in a new light. Even the reader already familiar with the subject will find on every page novel and suggestive observations. I can but second the wish expressed by Karl Müller in his

noteworthy review of the book (ThLZ, 1917, 391-395), that Holl would apply to a general church history of the 19th century the remarkable powers of research and presentation which he has shown in his work on Epiphanius and the early church (HThR, 1921, 308 ff.), on Luther and the Reformation, and occasionally on more recent phases of religion, such as Catholic Modernism, Christian Science, and Tolstoi's theories of reform.

About ten years ago Bess, with a number of distinguished scholars, published a composite work under the title, "Unsere religiösen Erzieher," which was warmly received (2d edit., 1917; cf. HThR, 1921, 287). It was an appreciation of the great saints of the mediæval church from the Protestant point of view, but for the later period only men of the Reformed churches were included. A portrayal of the great teachers of Catholic piety in more recent times has now been undertaken, and it is most welcome to find a Catholic and a Protestant, *Merkle* and *Bess*, united as editors. The collaborators are all well-known Roman Catholic scholars of high standing, and their names are a guarantee that the book is not an edifying collection of saints' lives, but a work of scholarly spirit. The list comprises St. Theresa of Spain, St. Philip Neri, St. Francis de Sales and Madame de Chantal, St. Vincent de Paul, Fénelon and Madame de Guyon, Johann Michael Sailer, Antonio Rosmini, Johann Baptist Hirscher, Alban Stolz, John Henry Newman. The omission of Ignatius Loyola has doubtless been prompted by the purpose of giving preference to characters stamped with a piety which transcends the type of a single confession. The portraits that accompany the essays are worth studying; they illustrate what extraordinary diversity distinguishes these exemplars of Roman Catholic piety, in spite of their unity in faith and doctrine. — *Cândea's* instructive monograph may find mention here, although the author carries his historical survey back to the mediæval beginnings of Roman Catholicism in the Danube principalities. The modern development of the situation in Moldavia and Wallachia (the present Roumania) constitutes the chief topic, and the book is valuable because there is no other treatment of the subject based on the sources. The author is not himself a Roman

Catholic, but has enough interest in the very varied fortunes of this branch of the church to permit him to give an unpartisan presentation.

II. THE PERIOD OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

1. ENGLAND

CUDWORTH. *Schmitz, Kurt Joseph*, Cudworth und der Platonismus. Giessen dissertation. 41 pp. Bonn, Eisele, 1919.

HERBERT OF CHERBURY. *Scholz, Heinrich*, ed., Die Religionsphilosophie des Herbert von Cherbury. Auszüge aus "De veritate" (1624) und "De religione gentilium" (1663), mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen (StGnPr, Quellenheft 5). vi, 94 pp. 1914.

LOCKE. *Winckler, Carl*, transl., John Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity" 1695, mit einer Einleitung von *Leopold Zscharnack*, (StGnPr, Quellenheft 4). lxvi, 140 pp. 1914.

SHAFTESBURY. *Schönfeld, Victor*, Die Ethik Shaftesburys. Giessen dissertation. 94 pp. Buda-Pesth, Hentschel, 1920. — *Weiser, Christian Friedrich*, Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben. xvi, 564 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1916.

Weiser's book on the Earl of Shaftesbury is one of the most important contributions to the history of ideas in modern times that fall within our period. Shaftesbury has long been neglected by his countrymen. Lecky's crushing judgment on his life-work, in which Leslie Stephen in the main concurs, is still accepted in England.² Indeed he was half-forgotten until Dr. Benjamin Rand of Harvard University recently drew attention to him once more. That a German should now undertake to restore to life Shaftesbury's system of ideas, is but justice, in view of the strong impulse that Shaftesbury gave to German thought in its creative period. Weiser is right in emphasizing that his effectiveness in the history of German thought was due to the very trait of Germanic individualism which resulted in alienating his own countrymen. The reader must not be daunted by the size of this book nor be satisfied with glancing through it. It must be read thoroughly and seriously studied.

² No edition of the "Characteristics" appeared during the entire 19th century. One which was begun by W. M. Hatch reached only the first volume (1870); an incomplete edition by John M. Robertson (1900) is out of print; cf. Rand, Letters, p. xv. German translations appeared in 1909 and 1910.

Perhaps this was the writer's reason for omitting an index, but the lack of one makes it uncommonly hard to find one's way in the book. A list of the headings will give a tolerable idea of the wealth of contents. First comes an admirable introduction of some length, which, by means of the general history of ideas and the history of the time in England, brings the reader to the actual theme. Then follow: 'Verinnerlichung'; 'Philosophy as a way of viewing life and the world: Shaftesbury's kalokagathia'; 'The idea of the "moral" in Shaftesbury'; "'Ridicule" as a test of truth: Shaftesbury's ironia' (here are given fine observations on his often misunderstood 'raillery' and 'test of ridicule'); 'Aesthetic enjoyment'; 'Artistic forms'; 'The principle of activity'; 'The idea of taste (moral sense and moral taste)'; 'Nature and the natural'; 'State and society'; 'Science'; 'Religion.' Throughout, the influence of Shaftesbury on German intellectual life is never lost from view, and everyone to whom the names of our German poets and thinkers, especially Herder and Wieland, mean something more than "noise and smoke" will find this ever-recurring comparison of special interest, particularly since the author's wide view permits him everywhere to show the connection of Shaftesbury's system of thought with the ancient world. Rightly understood, I think Shaftesbury, as the philosopher of hopeful acceptance of the world (*Weltbejahung*) and eternally creative enthusiasm, has much to say to all of us, and Hutcheson, his warmest adherent, is nearer than Lecky to the truth, when he says (1735) of Shaftesbury's writings: "They will be esteemed while any reflection remains among men." — Beside Weiser's weighty book, the systematic chapters of *Schönfeld*, now rabbi in London, which were written in 1914 without knowledge of the larger work, deserve mention. In an appendix he gives an unpublished confession of faith in the form of a prayer (found among the Shaftesbury papers in the Record Office in London), which reveals the depths of a truly religious spirit. — The discussion on Cudworth by *Schmitz* is not important. — Since the early editions of Lord Herbert of Cherbury are so scarce, the extracts from his writings will be welcome outside of Germany, especially in view of

Scholz's admirable introduction. — Also *Zscharnack's* introduction to *Winckler's* translation of *Locke's* work deserves attention.

2. FRANCE

BODIN. *Bezold, Friedrich von*, Jean Bodins Colloquium Heptaplomeres (HZ 113, 1914, 260–315; 114, 1915, 237–301); Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance (ibid. pp. 294–328): Jean Bodin als Okkultist und seine Demonomanie. Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1918.

REVOLUTION. *Berger, Hans*, Die religiösen Kulte der französischen Revolution und ihr Zusammenhang mit den Ideen der Aufklärung. Freiburg dissertation. 96 pp. Berlin, Fuhrmann, 1914. — *Feenstra, P.*, De godsdienst en de Fransche revolutie III, IV (Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift 3, 1914, 22–47; 4, 1915, 148–173).

ROUSSEAU. *Cordier, Leopold*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau und der Calvinismus. vii, 227 pp. Langensalza, Beyer, 1915. — *Eppensteiner, F.*, Rousseaus Einfluss auf die vorrevolutionären Flugschriften und den Ausbruch der Revolution (Beiträge zur Parteigeschichte hrsg. von Adalbert Wahl). viii, 71 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1914.

VOLTAIRE. *Korff, Hermann August*, Voltaire im literarischen Deutschland (BnLG 10, 11). xxvi, 834 pp., 1918.

The roots of the French Illumination go back to the 16th century. Typical of the movement in that early stage is *Jean Bodin* († 1596), whose *Heptaplomeres*, or dialogue of seven persons, “on the hidden mysteries of lofty things” culminates in a fierce criticism of revealed religions and of Christianity in particular. Until the middle of the 17th century the work circulated only in manuscript, closely guarded by a few of the initiate. Then it gradually made its way, in numerous copies, to the wider circle of educated readers; but it was not printed until 1857, by the German, Ludwig Noack. Of this book, so significant in the history of thought, which in its fundamental ideas anticipates Lessing’s *Nathan* (the tale of the three rings), *von Bezold* has made an exhaustive study. It is singular that the free-thinker Bodin, in his *Demonomanie* (1580), came out publicly as an occultist and student of the theory of witchcraft, and even played a discreditable rôle as judge in witchcraft trials. The strange double life of this richly gifted, keen, and at the same time idealistic character is clearly set forth by *von Bezold*. — The relation between Calvin and Rousseau has been treated incidentally in studies on

Rousseau, but nowhere taken for a main theme, as is now done by *Cordier* in his valuable and impartial book. He shows in detail how on the one hand Rousseau's thought was affected by his reaction in the face of the confessionalism of Geneva, while on the other hand he stands with later Calvinism in its hostility to the degenerate French culture of the time, so that it was possible for him to adopt certain positions of both older and later Calvinism. The issue of confessionalism, under the influence of which Rousseau lived, has been weakened by later developments of thought, and at the present time both Rousseau and Calvinism, even where they stand directly opposed to one another, can be impartially approached, and allowed to have their perfect work upon us. — From contemporary pamphlets of the French Revolution (the number of which, by recent calculations, is said to approach 100,000) *Eppenstein* seeks to measure the influence on the Revolution of Rousseau's ideas. He finds an important distinction. In bringing about the fundamental political events — the calling of the States General and the struggle next ensuing — Rousseau's ideas had no share. Not until the writers begin to go deeply into questions of the law of constitutions do they turn to Rousseau and appeal to him as opponent of monarchy, especially in the French form, as preacher of popular sovereignty, as leader in behalf of the rule of the masses. But in ascribing this influence to Rousseau we must bear in mind that it depended on the selection and interpretation of his words which these writers themselves made. They approached him with preconceived opinions and with a perfectly definite intention of upheaval. Hence Rousseau's utterances in opposition to revolution were neglected, and those of his doctrines which favored upheaval further sharpened, and so fashioned into an effective weapon. The demonstration of this, which rests on the perusal of more than a thousand pamphlets, is convincing. — *Berger's* study is a supplement to the well-known work of Aulard, "Le culte de la Raison et le culte de l'Être suprême." His aim is to show the connection between these revolutionary forms of worship and the Enlightenment, and to trace in the country villages the reception given by the

people to the forms of worship dictated from Paris. His material is taken chiefly from the records of the Committee of Welfare, especially the reports of the so-called "représentants en mission," which in the main faithfully reflected the attitude of the people.

3. GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

a. *Rationalism and Idealism*

GENERAL. *Dunkmann, Karl*, Idealismus oder Christentum? viii, 165 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1914. — *Hoffmann, Heinrich*, Die Religion des Goetheschen Zeitalters (SV 81). 37 pp. 1917. — *Paulus, Rudolf*, Idealismus und Christentum (SV 92). iv, 41 pp. 1919.

CLAUDIUS. *Loofs, Friedrich*, Matthias Claudius in kirchengeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. 144 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1915.

FICHTE. *Johann Gottlieb Fichte*, Ueber Gott und Unsterblichkeit. Aus einer Kollegnachschrift von 1795 mitgeteilt von *Ernst Bergmann*. (KSt, Ergänzungsheft 33). 32 pp. 1914; Ideen über Gott und Unsterblichkeit. Zwei religionsphilosophische Vorlesungen aus der Zeit vor dem Atheismusstreit. Mit einer Einleitung hrsg. von *Friedrich Büchsel*. 56 pp. Leipzig, Meiner, 1914; Predigten von *J. G. Fichte*. Hrsg. und mit einer Einleitung versehen von *Maximilian Runze*. 70 pp. Leipzig, Meiner, 1918. — *Gogarten, Friedrich*, Fichte als religiöser Denker. 120 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1914. — *Haack, Hans Georg*, Johann Gottlieb Fichtes Theologie: Das Christiantum in der Philosophie des späteren Fichte. Heidelberg dissertation. viii, 84 pp. Leipzig-Borna, Noske, 1914. — *Hirsch, Emanuel*, Fichtes Religionsphilosophie im Rahmen der philosophischen Gesamtentwicklung Fichtes. 132 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914; Fichtes Religionsphilosophie in der Frühzeit der Wissenschaftslehre (Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik 163, 1917, 16–37); Christentum und Geschichte in Fichtes Philosophie. 70 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1920. — *Müsebeck, Ernst*, Das Verhalten der preussischen Regierung im Fichteschen Atheismusstreit (HZ 115, 1915, 278–310). — *Paulus, Rudolf*, Fichte und das Neue Testament (SV 93). iv, 58 pp. 1919. — *Scholz, Heinrich*, Ein neues Dokument zu Fichtes religionsphilosophischer Entwicklung (KSt 22, 1918, 392–425). — *Weinel, Heinrich*, Fichte (RKL 6). xxiv, 111 pp. Berlin-Schöneberg, Protestantischer Schriftenvertrieb (now Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht), 1914.

GELLERT. *Rust, Hans*, Gellerts Frömmigkeit (ThStKr 91, 1918, 65–107).

GOETHE. *Jaeger, Max*, Das Christentum Goethes. Friedewald-Dresden, Aurora, 1916. — *Michel, Ernst*, Weltanschauung und Naturdeutung. Vorlesungen über Goethes Naturanschauung. 93 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1920. — *Ziegler, Theobald*, Goethes Welt- und Lebensanschauung. v, 126 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 1914.

GOTTSCHED. *Lichtenstein, Erich*, Gottscheds Ausgabe von Bayles Dictionnaire (BnLG 7). xii, 157 pp. 1915.

HAMANN. *Konschel, Paul*, Der junge Hamann nach seinen Schriften und Briefen im Rahmen der lokalen Kirchengeschichte. viii, 143 pp. Königsberg, Beyer, 1915.

HERDER. *Dietterle, Johann August*, Die Grundgedanken in Herders Schrift "Gott" und ihr Verhältnis zu Spinozas Philosophie (ThStKr 87, 1914, 505-555).

JACOBI. *Scholz, Heinrich*, ed., Die Hauptschriften zum Pantheismusstreit zwischen Jacobi und Mendelssohn. Hrsg. und mit einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung versehen (Neudrucke seltener philosophischer Werke, hrsg. von der Kantgesellschaft 6). cxxix, 364, 22 pp. Berlin, Reuther & Reichardt, 1916. — *Van Stockum, Theodor Cornelis*, Spinoza — Jacobi — Lessing. Dissertation. vii, 108 pp. Groningen, Noordhoff, 1916.

JEAN PAUL [RICHTER]. *Bachmann, Valentin*, Die religiöse Gedankenwelt Jean Pauls. Erlangen dissertation. iv, 140 pp. Borna-Leipzig, Noske, 1914.

KANT. *Boette, Wilhelm*, Kants Religion (Paedagogisches Magazin, hrsg. von Friedrich Mann, 780). 123 pp. Langensalza, Beyer, 1920. — *Köster, Adolph*, Der junge Kant. 110 pp. Berlin, Simion, 1914. — *Kroner, Richard*, Kants Weltanschauung. 91 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1914. — *Wehnert, B.*, Luther und Kant (Forschung und Leben 2). vi, 194 pp. Meerane, Herzog, 1918.

LAVATER. *Lavater, J. C.*, Briefe Lavaters an seine Bremer Freunde aus dem Jahre 1798. iv, 156 pp. Zürich, Rascher, 1918. — *Janentzky, Christian*, Johann Caspar Lavaters Sturm und Drang im Zusammenhang seines religiösen Bewusstseins. viii, 375 pp. Halle, Niemeyer, 1916.

LEIBNIZ. *Frohn Meyer, L. J.*, Freiherr von Leibniz und die Mission. (Sonderdruck aus dem Evangelischen Missionsmagazin, 1917.) Basel, Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1918. — *Merkel, Franz Rudolf*, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz und die China-Mission (Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen, hrsg. von Karl Mirbt 1). vii, 254 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. — *Nathan, Bernhard*, Ueber das Verhältnis der Leibniz'schen Ethik zur Metaphysik und Theologie. Jena dissertation. 53 pp. Jena, Vopelius, 1916.

LESSING. *Fittbogen, Gottfried*, Der Streit um Lessings "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" (PrJ 154, 1913, 218-25). — *Klee, Rudolf*, Lessings Stellung zu den positiven Religionen. Program. 29 pp. Marburg, Friedrich, 1913. — *Kriek, Ernst*, Lessing und die "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts." 43 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1913. — *Krüger, Gustav*, Albrecht Thaer und die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts (SV 73). 44 pp. 1913. — *Motz, —*, Lessings "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" in ihrem Verhältnisse zum System der protestantisch-lutherischen Orthodoxie einer-, und zum Rationalismus der Reimarus'schen Schutzschrift anderseits. Program. Hamburg, Grefe und Tiedemann, 1914. — *Oehlke, Waldemar*, Lessing und seine Zeit. Two vols. xiv, 478; vii, 603 pp. Munich, Beck, 1919. — *Scholz, Heinrich*, Zum Streit um die "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" (PrJ 155, 1914, 71-94). — *Van Stockum, vide JACOBI*.

MENDELSSOHN. *Bertwin, Beate*, Moses Mendelssohn im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen (KSt 49). iv, 92 pp. 1919. — *Scholz, vide JACOBI*.

REIMARUS. *Engert, Josef*, Der Deismus in der Religions- und Offenbarungskritik des Hermann Samuel Reimarus (Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft 22). x, 123 pp. Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft, 1916.

RICHTER. *Vide* JEAN PAUL.

SCHILLER. *Lempp, Otto*, Friedrich Schiller (RKL 7). 154 pp. 1914.

TELLER. *Gabriel, Paul*, Die Theologie Wilhelm Abraham Tellers (StGnPr 10). iv, 91 pp. 1914.

The intellectual movement in Germany in the 18th century was of importance not only for the history of European thought, but for that of mankind in general. The prestige of the Germans as the people of poets and thinkers rests on the achievements of the great German minds of that period. So far as these achievements in their culmination rise above the level of the rationalism typical of the Enlightenment, they have in recent years received the name of "German Idealism." The distinguishing mark of this idealism is that its exponents, in contrast with the rationalism and naturalism of the Enlightenment properly so-called, find the essence of the universe in the original creative powers of the human spirit, and seek to lay on these a foundation for philosophy, ethics, and religion, and so to introduce a profounder intellectual culture. Inasmuch as the age ennobled by this idealism coincides in the main with the work of Goethe, the greatest of the idealists, it has come to be known as the age of Goethe. *Hoffmann* has described the character of the period briefly but suggestively,³ and in similar fashion *Paulus* has brought out the permanent significance of idealism for Christianity. In the face of recent inconsistent attempts to deny the significance for the present day of the religion of idealism, a significance which is self-evident to us elders, essays like these are a useful warning.⁴ The opposite view is presented clearly and emphatically by *Dunkmann*, who sees only the need of releasing religion from the

³ For the study of this time in its relation to the history of ideas, the large work of Hermann August Korff, "Der Geist der Goethezeit." Vol. I: Sturm und Drang (xiii, 321 pp. Leipzig, 1923), is epoch-making. It is indispensable for a thorough understanding of the subject.

⁴ See for example Wilhelm Lütgert (Halle), in his clever, well-written, and comprehensive book, "Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende." 2 vols. xiv, 275; xii, 272 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1923.

fetters of idealism, since he does not accept the essentials of Christianity. "Back from Kant, back to Luther," is here the watchword.

As we are not considering the history of philosophy or of religion, we mention only those works which bring out the relations of the leaders of the Enlightenment to religion and theology. This brings us first to Leibniz, who, Brochart says, "n'appartient pas seulement à l'Allemagne, mais à l'humanité tout entière." The observance of the two hundredth anniversary of his death († Nov. 14, 1716) called out many works in which the universal significance of the great thinker is celebrated. For church history it is sufficient to speak of one among them, *Merkel's* fruitful study of Leibniz's efforts in the interest of Christian foreign mission. The author has had access to the manuscript remains of Leibniz, and has used everything that could have any bearing on his subject; and he has written a notable book, of importance for the beginnings of the whole Protestant missionary movement. — *Nathan's* dissertation is only mediocre. — Two of the books on Kant⁵ mentioned above deserve attention. *Kroner's* aim is not so much to expound the system of Kantian philosophy as to show the mind and heart from which it comes. — *Köster* depicts the development of Kant on the side peculiarly attractive to readers mainly interested in philosophy, as it appears in his "conflict with history," to use the author's phrase; that is to say, in his reaction to the forces of the past. He rightly points out the significance of pietism for Kant's intellectual development. — *Lichtenstein* draws attention to the German translation of Bayle's celebrated Dictionnaire by Professor Johann Christoph Gottsched of Leipzig († 1766), whose services to the German language are still remembered in our histories of literature. For our present purpose, however, it is more important to note that by Gottsched's translation, and still more by the accompanying comments, Bayle's book and the Enlightenment of the skeptical French type became known and gained influence in Germany.

⁵ See the Kant-Bibliographie for 1914-23, in the "Gesamtkatalog der deutschen philosophischen Literatur," published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auslandsbuchhandel (Leipzig, Börsenverein, 1924, pp. 14-20).

The comments, to be sure, breathe the conservative religious spirit of the philosophy of Wolff, but on the other hand they constitute an interesting proof that the followers of Wolff, even when instinctively they clung to the positions of the old faith, were yet forced by their rationalism into conflict with the dogmas of the church. — Gottsched's colleague, Christian Fürchtegott Gellert († 1769), has always been highly esteemed by the Germans as poet and moralist, and by his "Geistliche Oden und Lieder," many of which are still in use in the churches, he retains his importance for the history of piety. *Rust* has been able to interpret these poems by the use of James's categories of religious psychology. — The best-known of the German popular philosophers of the rationalistic type was the Jewish merchant Moses Mendelssohn of Berlin († 1786), the friend of the publisher and littérateur, Friedrich Nicolai.* *Fräulein Bertwin* has made a valuable contribution to the history of culture by using the many testimonies to his importance, from friends and opponents alike. — Hermann Samuel Reimarus of Hamburg († 1768) has been, and is, regarded as the most consistent representative of the radical wing of the Enlightenment. But this is against his own wishes, for it was only after his death that Lessing published, from Reimarus's manuscript, his celebrated "Wolfenbüttler Fragmente." *Engert*, the author of a study of the metaphysics of Reimarus (1908), has now written a systematic exposition of the deism underlying his criticisms of religion and revelation. Himself a Roman Catholic, Engert maintains an impartial attitude.

It lies in the nature of theological rationalism that individuality does not count for much. Anyone who has made himself familiar with the theology of Semler, known beyond the bounds of Germany as a pioneer in critical study of the Bible and the history of dogma, knows the whole Protestant theology of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, *Gabriel's* monograph on Teller († 1804 at Berlin) can be read with profit, for Teller exercised an extraordinary influence on the theology and church of his time. A list of his writings is added.

* On Nicolai, see Martin Sommerfeld, "Friedrich Nicolai und der Sturm und Drang." xvii, 400 pp. Halle, Niemeyer, 1921.

Lessing, who was more important as a theologian than most non-theologians realize, is usually classed with the idealists, as defined above, rather than with the rationalists, although the traits of the transitional type clearly show themselves in him. In matters of religion his position is difficult to define, for as the searcher after truth, which was his character all his life long, he found himself continuously in discussion with one opponent or another, and sometimes the opponent was himself. Hence there is no end to the investigations into his religion.⁷ Further, in the period under review, there has been some interest in a hypothesis which goes back to a work of the present writer, published in 1913. Lessing's "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" has always played an important part in the discussion of his religious position; *Krüger* thought it could be made probable that this work, the authorship of which Lessing never expressly acknowledged, was in its original form (1777) not Lessing's own, but worked over on the basis of a writing by Albrecht Thaer, at that time a young physician, who later gained fame as the founder of scientific agriculture. This hypothesis, like all learned conjectures which lack decisive external proof, has found both supporters and opponents. But the result of the discussion is not without importance. It can now scarcely be denied that Lessing's book lacks unity, and that the first chapters contain hardly one independent thought, but merely summarize the substance of what, since Locke's "Some Thoughts on Education" (1693), had been the common property of rational supernaturalism as it came from England. The ideas in the last part, on the contrary, are original with Lessing, and are today still weighty and effective, and destined to exert a large influence on the development of the future. — *Oehlke's* book is a good introduction to Lessing's life and writings, but gives little idea of the problems as they presented themselves to the great critic.

Toward the end of his life († 1781) Lessing had a conversation with his friend Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi († 1819), from

⁷ For the most recent criticism, see Gottfried Fittbogen, "Die Religion Lessings." viii, 325 pp. Leipzig, Meyer and Müller, 1923. Even this work, full as it is of significant details and wise observations, cannot be called final.

which the latter gained the impression that Lessing found in Spinoza's pantheism a form of religious thought corresponding to his own conception. A literary controversy on this subject arose between Jacobi and Mendelssohn, which attracted attention at the time and still gives important hints for understanding the relation of idealism and rationalism. The chief documents of the controversy have been collected by *Scholz*, who has edited a faithful reprint of the first editions.—*Van Stockum's* dissertation is occupied with the same theme.

Among the idealists who prepared the way for a christo-centric theology was the Königsberg scholar Johann Georg Hamann († 1788), called by his contemporaries the Wise Man of the North (*cf.* Matt. 2, 1-2). *Konschel* furnishes much new information on the early life of this worthy.—The Zürich pastor Johann Caspar Lavater († 1801) made a sensation in his own time by his "Physiognomische Fragmente," in which he undertook to determine a person's character from his features. Although today we find these attempts absurd, the insight is impressive with which, in opposition to the fashionable rationalism of his day, and in alliance with the eternally vital elements of pietistic mysticism, Lavater was able to contribute to the deepening of religious feeling. The exhaustive treatment of the subject by *Janentzky*, one of our younger students of literary history, not a theologian, is a real enrichment of the literature of religious history.—Matthias Claudius, the "herald of Wandsbeck," has always been prized by Germans for his thoughtful, somewhat old-fashioned and sentimental character, although he cannot be deemed of great importance in the history of thought. *Loofs* has drawn a well-defined picture of the religious life of this amiable man.—Contributions to our knowledge of the leading spirits of the idealistic movement have been neither many nor important. *Dietterle's* article on Herder's theology has been singled out for the bibliography because it is an intelligent résumé of a work which, though little read, is yet characteristic of Herder's thought, both in its attachment to that of Spinoza and in its departures from him. — *Lempp* gives a well-selected anthology of Schiller's utterances on religion. — The essays of *Jäger* and *Ziegler*

offer nothing new to one who knows Goethe's views of life and the world.⁸

During the War German thought turned to Fichte with special fondness, for it was this powerful man who, with inspiring utterances in the time of deepest humiliation under the rule of Napoleon, recalled Germany to a sense of her vocation for humanity, and was able to arouse and invigorate her to the renewal of her moral forces. At the same time this revival of interest called to men's minds what firm anchorage Fichte found in religion and, at least in the latter part of his life, in historical Christianity. His beautiful work, "Die Anweisung zum seligen Leben" (Guide to the Blessed Life), reads like a great sermon. *Weinel's* selections from Fichte's writings, with his excellent introduction, can be highly recommended to all who desire to read Fichte. — The books of *Gogarten*, *Haack*, *Paulus*, and especially *Hirsch* go more deeply, each in its own way, into Fichte's philosophy of religion and especially into his relation to Christianity. — The publication of certain of his own writings, either unknown hitherto or lost from sight, is welcome. Two sermons, delivered in his youth and printed in the complete edition of his works, but little noticed there, are newly edited by *Runze*, together with one not previously published, from the year 1786, his earliest literary product. The lectures on God and Immortality are from his years in Jena, and were probably delivered in the winter semester of 1795–1796. *Bergmann* and *Büchsel* have independently discovered a copy of these lectures in a "defence" for Fichte, written anonymously during the controversy over atheism in 1800. — The essays of *Hirsch* and *Scholz* are devoted to the new find. — Interest attaches to *Müsebeck's* essay from the inclusion of the report of the Berlin consistorial-

⁸ More recently an excellent treatment of this subject has appeared: Karl Justus Obenauer, "Goethe in seinem Verhältnis zur Religion." 234 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1921. Compare also Karl Bornhausen's discriminating study, "Wandlungen in Goethes Religion" (Comenius-Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte 5. Berlin, 1923) and Adolf von Harnack's valuable address, 'Die Religion Goethes in der Epoche seiner Vollendung,' printed in "Erforschtes und Erlebtes" (Reden und Aufsätze, n. s. vol. IV, pp. 141–170. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1923). On Korff, see above, p. 277, note 3.

räte, which led King Frederick William III to grant Fichte a residence in Berlin after his dismissal as professor at Jena.

b. *Orthodoxy and Pietism*

Blanckmeister, Franz, Der Prophet von Sachsen Valentin Ernst Löcher und seine Zeit. viii, 306 pp. Dresden, Sturm, 1920. — *Delius, Rudolf von*, Geschichte des Grafen Zinzendorf. 70 pp. Berlin, Furche-Verlag, 1920. — *Grosse, Johannes*, Studien über Freiherrn von Watteville. Leipzig dissertation. 109 pp. Halle, John, 1914. — *Hempel, Otto*, Zinzendorf. 131 pp. Schlüchtern, Neuwerk-Verlag, 1920. — *Jannasch, Wilhelm*, Erdmuth Dorothea, Gräfin von Zinzendorf. vi, 507 pp. Gnadau, Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1914. — *Reichel, Georg*, Der "Senfkornorden" Zinzendorfs. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis seiner Jugendentwicklung und seines Characters. 1. Teil. Bis zu Zinzendorfs Austritt aus dem Paedagogium in Halle 1716. 228 pp. Leipzig, Jansa, 1914. — *Ruprecht, Rudolf*, Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Hannoverschen Stammländern. ii, 206 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1919. — *Schröder, William, Freiherr von*, Studien zu den deutschen Mystikern des 17. Jahrhunderts: I. Gottfried Arnold (BnLG 9). viii, 119 pp. 1917. — *Staehelin, F.*, Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berberice im 18. Jahrhundert. 2 pts. 118, 114 pp. Herrnhut, Verlag des Vereins für Brüdergeschichte, 1918; Schweizer Theologen im Dienste der reformierten Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten (Schweiz. Theol. Zeitsch., 1919, 152-171; 191-238). — *Trippenbach, M.*, Rosamunde Juliane von der Asseburg, die Prophetin und Heilige des Pietismus. 24 pp. Wallhausen, Trippenbach, 1914. — *Wernle, Paul*, Les frères Moraves en Suisse Romande au 18me siècle (Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie. n. s. 6, 1918, 118-142).

Orthodoxy produced no commanding personalities in the period we are considering. Only the Saxon, Valentin Ernst Loescher, stands out somewhat from the others, and deserves *Blanckmeister's* careful study of his life and times. — Among the pietists, on the contrary, many names are found which have a place in the books on general church history. Gottfried Arnold († 1714) is still known as the author of the first large work in German on church history ("Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie"), and he is a character well worth studying for anyone who would enter into the spirit of the pietistic separatism of the beginning of the 18th century. An excellent aid to this end is given by *Freiherr von Schröder*, who dwells mainly on Arnold's religious poetry.⁹ — By far the most in-

⁹ See also Erich Seeberg's exhaustive work: "Gottfried Arnold, die Wissenschaft und die Mystik seiner Zeit." viii, 611 pp. Meerane, Saxony, E. R. Herzog, 1923.

teresting character among the pietists of the 18th century is Count Zinzendorf. Several good works treat of him, his wife, and his early friend and follower Watteville, the most important being that of *Reichel*, docent in the theological seminary of the Brüdergemeine at Gnadenfeld. The "Order of the Mustard Seed," mentioned in the title, was a pietistic league of friendship said to have been formed by the Count, with Watteville and others of like mind, in his boyhood, while a pupil in the Paedagogium at Halle. Recent doubts as to this fact led Reichel to investigate the question thoroughly, and from contemporary sources before 1716 he has brought out much that is new. The Count's memory of the events appears to have become somewhat confused; but that a circle of awakened comrades was formed under Zinzendorf's influence in his early youth cannot be doubted. More important, however, than this single conclusion, is Reichel's complete and convincing study of Zinzendorf's youthful development as a whole. Of this period his book gives the first scholarly account. Unfortunately the promised sequel has not appeared. — While we still have no satisfactory critical biography of the Count, *Jannasch* has produced a biography of the Countess Erdmuthe, born Countess Reuss, Zinzendorf's first wife and his fellow worker for many years, which is founded on original sources and is recognized by scholars as definitive. It is at the same time a valuable contribution to the history of the Brotherhood and to the psychology of the Count, detailing clearly his much criticized views on matrimony and on family life. The explanation of Zinzendorf's character by the aid of sexual pathology has been much discussed for some years past. Anyone who followed the controversy between Reichel and Pfister, the Zürich pastor, in 1910–1911, occasioned by the latter's essay on Zinzendorf's piety in the light of psycho-analysis, should not fail to read Jannasch's work. — Zinzendorf's character loses when, as is the case in Jannasch's book, this undesirable trait is unduly emphasized, but there was far more in him, as his biographer knows. There must have been a compelling power over men in this man of genius, and of that a strong impression is given by the florilegium of extracts from his writings which *Herpel*

has made. It is the best possible guide to the spirit of the great leader. — *Delius* has published thirty-five pieces from Zinzendorf's innumerable poems in the original form in which they appear in the first Herrnhut editions. They give an adequate impression of Zinzendorf's exalted emotional life, his realistic piety, and his gentleness and tenderness. — *Grosse's* life of Watteville, Zinzendorf's intimate friend and assistant, is a sound piece of work, founded on the original sources and offering much that is new. — *Staehelin's* work covers the missionary activities of the Brotherhood in Surinam and Berberice from 1735 to 1748. It is a useful compilation of many letters and contemporary records.

4. HOLLAND

Blase, Johannes Ernst Bernard, Johannes Colerus en de groote twisten in de nederlandsche Luthersche kerk zijner dagen. Utrecht dissertation. vii, 204 pp. Amsterdam, Ten Brink & De Vries, 1920. — *Galm, Maurus*, Das Erwachen des Missionsgedankens im Protestantismus der Niederländer. 84 pp. St. Ottilien, Missionsverlag, 1915. — *Rinck-Wagner, Olga*, Dirck Volkertszoon Coornheert (Historische Studien 138). vi, 111 pp. Berlin, Ebering, 1919. — *Schlüter, Joachim*, Die Theologie des Hugo Grotius. iv, 120 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1919. — *Van Slee, J. C.*, De Geschiedenis van het Socinianisme in de Nederlanden (Verhandelingen rakende den Natuurlijken en Geopenbaarden Godsdienst, uitgegeven door Teyler's Godgeleerd Genootschap. n. s. 18). viii, 325 pp. Haarlem, Bohn, 1914. — *Veltenaar, C.*, Het kerkelijk leven der Gereformeerden in Det Briel tot 1816. xxii, 482 pp. Amsterdam, Kruyt, 1915.

Van Slee's book on Socinianism in Holland seems to be quite independent of the work on the same subject by Kühler (reviewed by W. Köhler in ThLZ 39, 1914, 327 ff.), which appeared in 1912, and which van Slee does not mention. He follows the history of the doctrine in Holland from the first appearance of the Polish emissaries Ostorod and Voidovius in 1598 to the merging of the movement in the intellectual currents of the 18th century, paying attention especially to the relation of Socinianism to the various sects of the Netherlands (Remonstrants and Anabaptists, the so-called "Rijnsburger Kollegianten"). A special chapter is devoted to the activities of individual Dutch Socinians — Martin Ruarus, Christopher Sandius, Daniel Zwicker, and others. It is a valuable work, of high scholarly standard. — *Schlüter's* not very long, but well

and clearly written monograph, on the theology of Hugo Grotius rests on independent study of the writings of the great Hollander, with use of all the literature on the subject. It increases the desire for a critical history of the beginnings of the Enlightenment in Holland. The line from Erasmus through Coornheert and others into the 17th century has been traced by Dilthey, but it would seem to be the duty of Dutch scholars to attack this important phase of their intellectual life thoroughly and on a comprehensive scale. It would make a good subject for one of the prize essays of the Teyler's Genootschap. — Fräulein *Rinck-Wagner's* work on Coornheert († 1590) is out of print and I have not seen it. — Among the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy in Holland during the last quarter of the 17th century, the preacher Johannes Colerus (1647–1707), at the Hague, stands in the forefront. Along with his biography, *Blase* gives a lively and detailed account of his controversies, which is at the same time a useful contribution to Dutch history in general. A special chapter treats of Colerus as biographer of Spinoza. — *Galm's* otherwise meritorious work has an unfortunate bias, inasmuch as the author is intent upon tracing back the awakening of the missionary idea in Holland to the influence of Catholic missionary activity, and systematically ignores the real source, which was reflection on the duty of missions as inculcated in the Gospels.

5. THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

a. Denmark

Koch, L. Oplysningstiden i den danske Kirke 1770–1800. 386 pp. Copenhagen, Gad, 1914–1915. — *Rasmussen, Alexander*, Reformations-Jubilaet 1817. 125 pp. Copenhagen, Lehmann & Stage, 1917.

In the Danish church, rationalism, though never extreme, was prevalent in the years 1770–1825. *Koch*, a conservative scholar of impartial judgment, gives a thorough analysis of the first part of the period. — Later documents from the same period, for instance the important Latin encyclical letter of the Danish bishops on the occasion of the third centenary of the Lutheran Reformation in 1817, are republished with introductions by *Rasmussen*.

b. Norway

Hauge, H. N., Hans Nilsen Hauge, Reiser og vigtigste Hændelser. Beskrevet av ham selv. Med oplysningen av *H. G. Heggveit* og *Oluf Kolsrud*. 202 pp. Christiania, 1914. — *Olafsen, O.*, Religiøse bevægelser i Hardanger omkring 1800 (NoTT 1917, 44–64). — *Selmer, Ludwig*, Ludwig Holbergs stilling i dit 18. århundert religiøse åndsliv (*ibid.* 1914, 1–193). — *Wuisnes, A. H.*, Johan Nordahl Brun. En monografi. 256 pp. Christiania, 1919.

The well-known pietistic lay preacher Hans Nilsen Hauge wrote an account of his revival tours in 1796–1804 which gives a good picture of the difficulties encountered, especially from the authorities. *Heggveit* and *Kolsrud* have edited it, with instructive historical notes. — *Olafsen* publishes various documents relating to the legal proceedings against some of Hauge's followers in 1804 in consequence of their neglect of the regulations issued in 1741 against conventicles. — *Selmer*, in a fine piece of work which received the gold medal of the University of Christiania, describes Holberg, the founder of modern Danish-Norwegian literature, as the first representative of the Enlightenment in Denmark and Norway. He became acquainted with this movement while on his travels, but always maintained reserve in the expression of his own religious ideas. — *Wuisnes* has written a good and learned biography of Bishop Brun († 1815). As a student of literature, the author has emphasized the literary aspect of his hero's work, but he has also clearly and appreciatively described his services to the church, especially his controversy with rationalism. For reviews of the part of Wuisnes's book relating to literary history, see Francis Bull in NoTT 1920, pp. 1–21; for the church-history side, Oluf Kolsrud, *ibid.* pp. 21–45.

c. Sweden

Dellner, Johan, Sven Baelter. Akademisk afhandling. xv, 308 pp. Upsala, Almqvist & Wicksell, 1916. — *Fehrman, Daniel*, Fran ortodoxi till idealism. En studie i den teologisk tankentvecklingens historia. 180 pp. Lund, Lindstedt, 1917; Lunds Domkapitel och præstbildningen under 1700 (KÅ 18, 1917, 234–350). — *Hasselberg, Carl*, Norrländskt Fromhetslif på sjuttonhundratalet. Synodal afhandling. Pt. I., viii, 480 pp. Årnsköldskirk, 1919. — *Jacobsson, Nils*, Uppsaladocenten Gradins deputationsresa till patriarken i Konstantinopel — ett led i Zinzendorfs missionsplaner (KÅ 16, (1915, 1–42). — *Lamm, Martin*, Swedenborg. En studie öfver hans ut-

veckling till mystiker och andeskädare. xv, 334 pp. Stockholm, Geber, 1915; Upplysningstidens romantik. Den mystiskt sentimentala strömningen i svensk litteratur. Pt. I. xi, 481 pp. Stockholm, Geber, 1918. — *Ruuth, Martti*, Karl XII i den mystiska separatistiska profetians ljus (KÅ 15, 1914, 434-450). — *Rydberg, Alexander*, Peter Murbecks lif och verksamhet i Stockholm (*ibid.* 133-204).

Dellner, in setting forth the homiletical attitude of the eminent preacher Baelter († 1760), makes an important addition to the history of preaching in Sweden in the 18th century. — *Fehrman's* article named in the second place above is an interesting study of the training which pastors in southern Sweden received during the 18th century. It is noteworthy how strong the influence of orthodoxy remained, while there are but few traces of pietism or of the Enlightenment. — *Hasselberg* describes the radical pietistic popular revivals in northern Sweden in the second half of the 18th century. His work is valuable, as it is based on documents from archives, and views the subject with reference both to religious psychology and to history. — *Jacobsson*, author of the standard work (1904) on the rise of the Moravian movement in Sweden, has used to good purpose the sources preserved at Herrnhut in his account of the fruitless journey of the Swedish Moravian Arvid Gradin to Constantinople. The journey was made at the request of Zinzendorf, and had for its aim the procuring of a letter of recommendation from the Patriarch for missionary work in northern Russia. — *Lamm's* study of Swedenborg's inner development is a learned, thorough, and acute work. He describes Swedenborg's religious and other environment, discussing the influence of older and of contemporary thinkers, and portrays his development from a scientific scholar into a theological dreamer. He notes that the mystical tendency is already to be seen in Swedenborg's scientific studies, and that his dogmatic system was fully formed before his religious crisis. Lamm's second book is a study in literary history, but of importance for church history also, because it explains the connection between pietism (including the Moravians) and the pre-romantic literary tendencies during the period of the Enlightenment in Sweden. — *Rydberg* continues his former study (1904) of the earlier life of Peter Murbeck († 1766), the most

prominent leader of conservative pietism in southern Sweden, by an account of Murbeck's life in Stockholm (1746-1761) and of the first clash between conservative pietism and the Moravians.

6. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

(a) *General*

Hanns, Walter, Die Verdienste der Jesuitenmissionen um die Erforschung Kanadas, 1611-1759. Leipzig dissertation. iv, 104 pp. Jena, Fischer, 1916.
— *Jann, Adelhelm*, Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan. Ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert. xxviii, 540 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915.

Jann has made an extraordinarily interesting book on the Roman Catholic missions in India, China, and Japan. In the first part he describes the organization, by the aid of the kings of Portugal, of the districts of West Africa east of Cape Bojador, showing how it was originally under the ecclesiastical control of the *Militia Jesu Christi*, an order confirmed by the Pope in 1319 as a substitute on national lines for the Knights Templars, who had been disbanded in 1311; then how, little by little under the Renaissance popes, all the powers of the Grand Master of the order were transferred to the Portuguese crown, which in the 15th century was gaining power; and how gradually the regions east of the Cape of Good Hope became more prominent, especially after they were united to form an archbishopric (1500) with Goa as the seat of the archbishop. The extension of the hierarchy to southern and eastern Asia, Funchal being the earliest Portuguese colonial bishopric, is followed in detail. The second part of the book shows the organization then built up in conflict with the appointees of the Portuguese kings. After the abrupt collapse of Portugal's colonial power in Asia in the first half of the 17th century, apostolic vicariates were formed (1659) in Farther India and China. The mission was thus withdrawn from the guardianship and control of a state church, but this resulted in a persistent and cruel persecution of the apostolic missionaries and vicar-bishops in Portuguese territory and at times even in a schism in the church. The narrative is brought down to 1750; it is everywhere supported

by documentary evidence. — The history of the exploration of Canada should not be passed by in remembering the services of Jesuit missionaries — those early pioneers, fired with enthusiasm for self-sacrifice, who first showed the world what Canada really was. *Hann's* book, a careful piece of work from the school of the geographer Partsch and the historian Lamprecht, follows in detail the journeys of these missionaries among the Indian tribes, showing how they had a hand in advancing the cartographic knowledge of the country and include in their reports descriptions of the climate, topography, and flora of the newly explored regions. The author is acquainted with all the literature of the subject, including works in English which were accessible to him in great completeness in the Leipzig Forschungsinstitut, and he cites more than a hundred titles in his bibliography.

b. *Jansenism; Pascal*

Bornhausen, Karl, Pascal. xi, 286 pp. Basel, Reinhardt, 1920. — *Hänsel, Hugo*, Nicolaus Jouin. Halle dissertation. 95 pp. Halle, John, 1915. — *Honigsheim, Paul*, Die Staats- und Soziallehren der französischen Jansenisten im 17. Jahrhundert. Heidelberg dissertation. 226 pp. Heidelberg, Pfeffer, 1914. — Discours de la Réformation de l'homme intérieur, où sont établis les véritables fondements des vertus chrétiennes selon la doctrine de St.-Augustin, prononcé par *Cornélius Jansénius*, évêque d'Yperen, à l'établissement de la réforme d'un monastère des Bénédictins, traduit du latin en français par Robert Arnauld d'Antilly (IThZ, N.F. 7, 1917, 121-146). — *Laros, M.*, Das Glaubensproblem bei Pascal. 192 pp. Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1918. — *Lindau, Hans*, Saint-Cyran (ZKG 36, 1916, 405-423). — *Moog, Ernst*, Antoine Arnaulds Stellung zu den kirchlichen Verfassungsfragen im Kampf mit den Jesuiten. Bern dissertation. (IkZ N.S. 4, 1914, 451-526). vii, 74 pp. Bern, Stämpfli, 1914.

The ascetic tract of the famous *Cornelius Jansen* now republished has been printed before but once (Louvain, 1675), and of that edition but a single copy is known, which is in the possession of the Old Catholic seminary at Amersfoort. The work, by which Pascal was much influenced, treats of the lusts of the flesh — illicit curiosity ("the world is the more corrupted by this malady of the soul that slips in under the cloak of health, that is of science") and pride. These are the themes of Augustine's Confessions x. 30 ff. Any one who is interested in the

inner history of Jansenism will find the discourse worth reading. Robert Arnauld was the eldest of the many brothers of the Mère Angélique; he also translated Augustine's Confessions and the works of St. Theresa into French. — *Honigheim's* book, though only part of a comprehensive work on the history preparatory to the Enlightenment in France, is complete in itself. The writer has a very wide view, an unusual wealth of special information, a power of impartial judgment; and although himself a Catholic, this movement, which was officially banned by the church, is not incomprehensible to him. Perhaps at bottom he is not quite just to it, but the reasons for this cannot be discussed here, and certainly nowhere else can be found such full information on the subject as here. The book has been not unjustly criticized as rather hard reading, but that should not deter anyone who is really interested in the subject. It is reviewed by an expert, *Hans Lindau* (ZKG 36, 1916, 239–243), in whose article on St. Cyran (properly Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de St. Cyran), the real founder of the Augustinian reform movement named after Jansen, little noticed letters and religious tracts are well used to produce a sound characterization of the movement. — Antoine Arnauld and Blaise Pascal were the literary defenders of Jansenism against the Jesuits. With Arnauld, an active-minded and at the same time truly devout man, questions of ecclesiastical organization, particularly the opposition of papalism and gallicanism, played the chief part. *Moog* has gone into this subject thoroughly, and by well-chosen extracts from Arnauld's writings shows that his fundamental motive was to preserve the "Gallican liberties" of his native land. For Pascal, his *Lettres Provinciales*, and his *Pensées*, interest has always existed in Germany, and the writings have been known through excellent translations. Now we have also an admirable biography, written during the war in a French prison with warm appreciation of this noblest of French thinkers of the 17th century, by *Bornhausen*, from whom had come an earlier book on the Ethics of Pascal (1907). The biographical narrative is interrupted by large quotations, not so much from the Letters and the *Pensées* as from the smaller and less well-known writings

(Discours sur les passions de l'amour; De l'esprit géométrique; Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies; Les quinze Mystères du Rosaire) and from Pascal's letters to Made-moiselle de Roannez, in which he speaks so affectingly of the conflict of beliefs. All this is varied by vignettes of contemporary life, brief sketches of eminent characters in the Jansenist circle, and full accounts of Pascal's studies, the scientific and mathematical as well as the religious. — *Laros*, the translator of the *Pensées* (Köselsche Sammlung, 1913), has attempted a complete statement of the contents of that book, but unfortunately he has used the measuring-rod of thomistic-tridentine doctrine, and has produced only a distorted picture. *Si duo dicunt idem, non est idem*, is true of Pascal's intuitionism, and it is useless to try to recast it in the mould of Catholic rationalism. Compare the reviews by Bornhausen (ThLZ 44, 1919, 251 ff.) and P. Simon (Theologische Revue 20, 1921, 19–21). The latter tries to stand by his fellow-catholic, but intimates that he has scruples about some of his positions. — The second stage of the Jansenist controversy produced a flood of pamphlets in prose and verse, mainly directed against the constitution "Unigenitus" (1713) of Pope Clement XI. Among those in verse, the writings of a certain Nicholas Jouin (1684–1757) possessed a greater importance than is ordinarily assigned to them in the books, and *Hänsel* in his dissertation has done well to rescue from oblivion at least such of them as he could find in German libraries. He gives extensive extracts from three: *Mœurs des Jésuites*, *Procès contre les Jésuites*, and *Les Sarcelades*, the last deriving its title from the village of Sarcelles, north of Paris, whence two Jansenist priests were suddenly expelled in 1729.

c. Religious Orders

Eckardt, Johannes, Klemens Maria Hofbauer (Führer des Volks 15). 88 pp. München-Gladbach, Volksvereins-Verlag, 1916. — *Hohenegger, Agapit*, Die Geschichte der tirolischen Kapuzinerordensprovinz, 1593–1893. Fortgesetzt und vollendet von *Peter Baptist Zierler*. Vol. II. xv, 747 pp. Innsbruck, Wagner, 1915. — *Jansen, Johann Laurenz*, Der heilige Alfons von Liguori und die Gesellschaft Jesu in ihren freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zu einander. Nach dem Holländischen bearbeitet von *Klemens Maria Henze*, xii, 108 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. — *Monumenta*

Hofbaueriana I. Der heilige Klemens Maria Hofbauer und das Auswanderungspatent vom 10. August 1784. Sammlung der diesbezüglichen Documente. Miscellanea. iv, 97 pp. (Cracow). Vienna, B. Herder, 1915.

Hardly anything of importance has appeared on the history of religious orders. Even *Hohenegger's* painstaking work, with its abundant detail, only occasionally rises above the level of local history, although it rests on thorough study of a mass of source-material, largely unprinted.—*Henze's* German translation from the Dutch of Jansen's account of the relations between Alfonso de' Liguori and the Society of Jesus makes no claim to be a work of scholarship.

d. Roman Catholicism and the Enlightenment

Coulain, Alexander, Der Emser Kongress des Jahres 1786 (Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht 25, 1915-16, 1-79). — *Gass, Josef*, Das Strassburger Priesterseminar während der Revolutionszeit. 106 pp. Strassburg, LeRoux, 1914; Strassburger Theologie im Aufklärungszeitalter. xvi, 302 pp. Strassburg, LeRoux, 1917. — *Höhler, Limburg*, Des kurtrierischen Geistlichen Rats H. Arnoldi Tagbuch vom Emser Kongress 1786. viii, 354 pp.; 12 figs. Mainz, Kirchheim, 1915. — *Hörmann, Josef*, P. Beda Mayr von Donauwörth, ein Ireniker der Aufklärung (Festgabe für Aloys Knöpfler, 198-210). Freiburg, Herder, 1917. — *Holzknrecht, Georgine*, Ursprung und Herkunft der Reformideen Kaiser Josefs II auf kirchlichem Gebiete (Forschungen zur inneren Geschichte Oesterreichs 11). xii, 108 pp. Innsbruck, Wagner, 1914. — *Keller, Franz*, Bischof Josef Michael Sailer: Christliche Briefe eines Ungenannten aus den Jahren 1783-1803. New edition. xiv, 274 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919. — *König, Josef Hermann*, Die Lage der katholischen Körperschaften des Unterelsasses gegen Ende des Ancien Régime. Strassburg, Heitz, 1914; Die katholischen Körperschaften des Unterelsasses vor und während der grossen Revolution. 186 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1915. — *Moog, Georg*, Der Emser Kongress im Jahre 1786 (IkZ n.s. 8, 1918, 141-165, 225-251). — *Reiss, Ludwig*, Der Reichsprälat Michael Dibler, des ehemaligen Reichsstifts Neresheim 45. und letzter Abt, 1730-1815. Erlangen dissertation. viii, 128 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1915. — *Rössler, Johannes*, Die kirchliche Aufklärung unter dem Speierer Fürstbischof August von Limburg-Stirum, 1770-1797. Würzburg dissertation. 158 pp. Gilardone, 1914. — *Schotte, Heinrich*, Zur Geschichte des Emser Kongresses (HJG 35, 1914, 86-109; 319-348; 781-820.)

The effect of the Enlightenment on German Catholicism showed itself in a recrudescence of episcopatism as well as in a certain weakening of the specifically Catholic element in doctrinal views and in ecclesiastical life. Among the most important events in this process of striving for a national church, in

which the German archbishops led, was the Congress of Ems (1786) and its product, the Punctation of Ems, which amid the storms of the French Revolution came to nothing. Accordingly it is a matter of some general interest to learn the course of the debates at the Congress. No official record is extant, but the Geistlicher Rat Arnoldi, the right hand of the vicar-general of Trier, wrote down the discussions and also kept a diary. These manuscripts are now published by *Höhler*, and so clearly arranged that the proceedings can be followed day by day. Interspersed are numerous interesting letters of Arnoldi, which contain sharp, often biting, characterizations of important figures at the Congress and of their companions. Important documents are given in an extensive appendix, and there are portraits of leading personages. The editor's point of view is that of the Curia, from which he can hardly catch the true significance of the incidents. — A useful supplement is *Rössler's* able work on August von Limburg-Stirum, prince-bishop of Speyer, who was by no means, as Höhler represents him to have been, an opponent on principle of the conclusions reached at Ems. He was a man of strong character, and much is to be learned from Rössler's skilfully drawn portrait. — *Schotte's* article also brings new information, gathered from newly acquired manuscript material in the Vatican and in German archives, which he has used with good critical judgment. — *Coulain* has subjected several articles of the Punctation to a searching examination, and shows that it embodies a selfish attempt on the part of the four German archbishops to establish their own power, supposedly of divine sanction, without taking up the really needed reform of church discipline, as they might well have done. These fresh studies destroy much of the glamor which this last great episcopal movement has had in the eyes of Catholics who favor a national church, to say nothing of Protestants. — *Moog* likewise, the present bishop of the German Old Catholics, idealizes the proceedings at Ems, and it is hard to share his hope that an Old Catholic revival will ever take place in a Catholicism which has the Vatican Council behind it. — Fräulein *Holzknicht* has industriously used the hitherto little studied material in the Austrian state archives and in

other archives at Vienna, not neglecting the copious literature of pamphlets. Her chief attention has been directed to showing the connection between Joseph's plan of reform and those of his predecessors as far back as the mediæval legists. — Several valuable studies have been devoted to Alsatian church history. *König* gives an account, from the original sources, of the vicissitudes during the Revolution which befell the chapters of canons at Strasburg and other chapters in the province, as well as the homes of the religious orders. The result of his investigation is to show that many laws and decrees promised a kind of indemnity, but that only a small amount was actually paid. In general, the Catholic establishments received no compensation — in other words, they were simply robbed, while the Protestant churches, not having set themselves so decidedly against the new order of things, were more mildly treated. — No religious house in Strasburg is more often mentioned in the Acts of the Revolution, particularly during the Terror, than the Seminary for priests (“*ci-devant séminaire*,” “*séminaire national*”). From 1789 to 1811 it served the most varied secular purposes, and not until 1823 was it again restored to its original use as training-school for the clergy of Alsace. *Gass* describes what took place in Strasburg from 1789 to 1795, so far as it related to this building, and gives a lively picture of the struggle of the men of the Revolution against the representatives of the Catholic Church. In his second book he gives documentary evidence for the hostility to the principles of the Enlightenment manifested by the professors of the Catholic episcopal university at Strasburg, newly founded in 1775, which fell a victim to the Revolution in 1790. — *Keller* has published a new edition of the interesting “*Briefe eines Ungenannten*,” the author of which, Sailer, was professor at Dillingen and later at Ingolstadt. The letters discuss the most profound religious and moral questions, and are one of the noblest monuments of a sound Catholic spirit. We shall come upon Sailer again, for his influence extended into the 19th century.

NOTES

THE "FESTSCHRIFT FÜR HERMANN GUNKEL"

I

A group of German biblical scholars have presented to Professor Hermann Gunkel of Halle, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday (May 23, 1922), a volume of studies on the religion and literature of the Old and New Testament.¹

The first part comprises eleven papers and relates to the Old Testament. In the first two articles H. Gressmann and P. Eissfeldt discuss some of the patriarchal stories of Genesis from two different points of view, that of "*Stoffkritik*" and of "*Quellkritik*" respectively. According to Gressmann the original Joseph-story (1100 B.C.) ran thus: Joseph dreams that thirteen heavenly bodies do obeisance unto him; as the servant of an Egyptian jailer, he discovers a plot against the life of the Pharaoh, and by marrying his daughter becomes his successor; King Joseph arrests his brothers as spies and sends them back to fetch his parents; then all pay homage to him and the dream comes true. In a later version of the story (900 B.C.) the brothers of Joseph are not shepherds but farmers, the hero becomes vizier, not king, and marries the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis after interpreting Pharaoh's dreams; the brothers are accused of theft, Benjamin is sent for, Judah (not Reuben) is the spokesman. When these two romances were combined, new material was added (Gen. 39, 7-20; 40) and the tone of the narrative became moral and religious.

According to Eissfeldt, the oldest kernel of the stories of Jacob and his sons was a collection of tribal traditions; in our oldest source (L or J¹) the ethnological material predominates (Gen. 34, 1-35, 5; 35, 21 f.; 38; 49, 2-27). Like the song of Deborah, L pictures a time when the tribes were still separate entities, but J and E presuppose the monarchy. The biographical element, at first subordinate to tribal history, grew in volume until it assumed independent importance.

¹ ΕΤΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel dargebracht von seinen Schülern und Freunden. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Neue Folge: 19. Heft. Göttingen, 1923.

From different angles Gressmann and Eissfeldt attack the crucial problem of the patriarchal stories; namely the relation of the biographical and the ethnological element combined in these folktales. To assert the priority of the one over the other, as these authors do, reaching opposite conclusions, seems impossible. All the stories were told in Canaan; in the oldest strains tribes act as individuals and legendary heroes lead adventurous lives. How can we decide the relative antiquity of the original stories of Abraham and Joseph — romantic figures of bygone days, and of Judah, Simeon, and Levi — clans whose early vicissitudes were not forgotten? Told in different parts of the country, the oldest traditions may well have been contemporary. The story of Joseph may be very old, but it has come down to us with so many additions and modifications that Gressmann's investigation amounts to no more than conjecture and yields but insecure results; his assertion that in the original story Joseph became king rests entirely on his interpretation of Gen. 37, 9 f, whereas the only reference to Joseph's kingship is in Gen. 37, 8, which he regards as secondary (p. 19). In the matter of tribal traditions the task of the critic is less hopeless. The existence of a source (which Eissfeldt calls L) older than J seems to be beyond dispute, although Eissfeldt has included in it much material that seems demonstrably later, for instance Gen. 49, which cannot be earlier than the monarchy. On the basis of Gen. 34 and 38, the most authentic, though not intact, portions of L, I would suggest that L contained only traditions of tribes not mentioned by Deborah's song, namely those of the south, Judah and the tribes more or less connected with it (Simeon and Levi) or living in its neighborhood (Cain, Ishmael, Lot, Edom). Abraham and Jacob were probably secondary characters; Israel, Joseph, and the tribes in Deborah's song were unknown; L, an echo from a barbarous age, preserves no religious records. The material of L is older than Joshua's time.

H. Schmidt, writing on Moses and the Decalogue, eliminates from the ten commandments everything that is clearly later than the nomadic period, and, affirming that all laws must be prohibitive, obtains the following text for the original Decalogue:

I am Yahweh, a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, nay upon the third and fourth generation, but showing mercy unto thousands.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me!
2. Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them!
3. Thou shalt not serve them!

4. Thou shalt not make thee any wooden image!
5. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh in vain!
6. Thou shalt not kill!
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery!
8. Thou shalt not steal!
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor!
10. Thou shalt not desire any thing that is thy neighbor's!

Moses engraved these laws on two tables of stone on Mount Sinai, then placed them in the "ark"² where they remained five hundred years. As simple as a syllogism: Moses wrote a decalogue; the ten commandments are not Mosaic in their present form; Moses wrote what is left after the removal of what is not Mosaic. Q. E. D.

In a second paper Schmidt discovers a divine throne in Solomon's temple, namely an object described by Ezekiel (chap. i) which looks like a square table on wheels. Of course Ezekiel must have been in error when he explicitly states that this was not a throne but merely supported one (1, 26), and the account of 1 Kings 6, 23-29 "is erroneous" (p. 129), although Schmidt had just said (p. 126) that it is "valuable and trustworthy." On this *kapporeth* Jehovah throned invisibly, resting his feet on the ark, which served as his footstool. To reach these results the author has to misinterpret clear statements, correct the old sources, and rely implicitly upon P and the Chronicler.

W. Baumgartner illustrates with numerous Old Testament passages some stylistic devices. When instructions are given, or when a message is sent, either the commission or the execution (or both) is reported in the narrative. The account of an event is repeated in the text when an eye-witness relates the facts already described, when a speech is reported by a hearer, and when similar events take place. The original authors avoided repetition, but gaps were filled out in the transmission of the writings.

G. Hölscher studies the sources and the redaction of the Book of Kings. The Deuteronomistic redactor (Rd), who is the author of this book, used only one source, JE. The J-material is small, and does not reach beyond the division of the kingdom;³ E is by far the principal source; it is based on popular traditions and on the royal annals. The book of Rd has reached us with numerous accretions, not only from the hand of later interpolators, but through the insertion

² The tables of the law were placed in the ark not by Moses, but by Deuteronomistic redactors (cf. Arnold, Ephod and Ark, p. 5).

³ 1 Kings 3, 4a: 4, 1-19; 5, 7 f.; 27 f.; 8, 1b; 4aa; 12 f.; 9, 11b-14; 16; 25; 10, 26; 11, 19; 21 f.; 12, 1-14; 16; 18-20 (including some glosses).

of old material (which Rd had not used) from JE, still in circulation.⁴ According to Hölscher both Rd and E are later than 586 B.C., for he denies that the code found in the temple in 621 was D. No proofs are given for the post-exilic origin of E, but Hölscher has discussed the date of D at great length since the publication of this paper.⁵ Two fundamental questions however, are left unanswered. First, how could the code found in the temple in 621, whose epoch-making importance for incipient Judaism no one could deny, be lost without leaving trace, when (for instance) the story of the tower of Babel and the Covenant Code were carefully preserved? Secondly, why did not the exiles build themselves a temple in Babylonia, as some Jews did in Elephantine before 525, if they did not have the law of Deut. 12; and why did the returning exiles observe it? If D dates from the reign of Josiah, then E was written before 722. As to J, Hölscher has no evidence to prove that its narrative continued beyond the accession of Solomon.

E. Balla studies the problem of human suffering in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha. Early Israel explained pain as the action of a god or demon, or as the result of ritual or moral sin. The prophets saw in suffering the just punishment of God for the sins of the nation. This doctrine of retribution became a dogma in post-exilic Judaism. Ecclesiastes and Job doubt its validity, only Asaph in Ps. 73 finds in his communion with God a solution of the problem of suffering. But retribution, in this world, or on the

⁴ From J: 1 Kings 2, 13-46a; 11, 15-17a. From E: 1 Kings 11, 23-25aa; 14, 1-18; 17, 1-22, 38; 2 Kings 1, 2-2, 25; 3, 4-8, 15; 9, 1-10, 28; 11, 1-18a; 13, 14-21; 18, 17-20, 19 (with glosses).

⁵ *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1922, pp. 161-255. His argument is briefly as follows: D represents an ideal legislation whose requirements were not observed in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the reform of Josiah (621 B.C.) was not based on D; there is no trace of D in Second Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah; Malachi knows D; the Jewish colony at Elephantine did not observe the laws of D; D represents the Levitical opposition to Nehemiah's measures. Hölscher fails to recognize the essential character of D: it is not, as he says (p. 255) a "priestly collection of laws," but "the prophecy of Moses" (Arnold, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1923, p. 20); like all prophetic oracles it contained requirements that were not, at the time, lived up to. The testimony of the Elephantine papyri is irrelevant, since Hölscher dates D 15 years before these documents were written and in all cases these Egyptian Jews did not observe the requirements of Josiah's reform, which Hölscher admits to have been based on a code found in the temple, now lost. This colony did not keep in touch with the religious developments in Jerusalem. In consequence of his views, Hölscher has to consider Deut. 27, 14-26 (verses 16-25 are one of the oldest sections in the Pentateuch) a very late concoction; and interpret 17, 14 ff. messianically (p. 230).

day of resurrection, or in the future world, remained a tenet of later Judaism: as in the earliest period, sin and demons cause pain. The subject of this paper is purely imaginary. Balla admits that there was no problem of suffering in the religion of Israel (p. 214), in the message of the prophets (p. 230), in the Psalms (p. 244), or in later Judaism (p. 260). Only Job and Asaph (Ps. 73) conceived the problem; only the latter found a solution. Both assertions are questionable. There is no indication in Job or in Ps. 73 that the theoretical problem (for the question: why is mankind subject to pain? is a metaphysical one) was at all imagined: both poets are merely disturbed by the good fortune of the wicked and the unhappy lot of some innocent people. Job not only knew Asaph's "solution" (Job 42, 5 f.) but was by far the greater thinker of the two; by an intuition of his agonized soul, Job perceived the problem of theodicy and denied that God could be at the same time almighty and just; he appeals from the God of power, who crushes him (16, 7-17), to a God of justice, his witness in heaven (16, 18-20).⁶

The poems dealing with Cyrus now included in Isaiah 40-48, according to M. Haller, are a series of divine oracles to Cyrus written before 539 by a Jew living at the Persian court. The author expressed the wish that the king would punish Babylon for the destruction of Jerusalem and rebuild the temple, but he was disappointed, and, arousing the wrath of Cyrus, he probably suffered the tragic fate of "the Servant of Yahweh" of Is. 53. The objection to this suggestive hypothesis is that there is only one oracle addressed to Cyrus (45, 1-4), and it contains nothing that could have seemed objectionable to the king; most of the other oracles are addressed to Israel (p. 266) and set forth the aspirations of the Jews offensive to the king. We have the oracles of Second Isaiah in an edition published shortly before 200 B.C., comprising the canon of the prophets. Before we can say anything of the original author we must identify the editorial material. It has not been noticed, so far as I know, that Is. 40-48, Jeremiah, and Amos have gone through a special redaction with characters of its own. The editor of these three books has given us the clearest statement of the exalted nature of the Creator of the

⁶ Some views and expressions of Balla are dubious. He seems to imply that Judaism came to an end with the advent of Christianity (Sirach belongs to "late" Judaism, the "end" of this religion is mentioned on p. 259); is there, before Deut. 4, 35; 39, any reference to God as "the sole god of heaven and earth" (p. 225)? Did the prophets consider every form of cult as a religious apostasy (p. 226)? Does Second Isaiah believe in the resurrection from the dead (p. 246)?

world and of the unreality of other gods, found anywhere in the Old Testament.⁷

The following papers do not deal with the Old Testament. S. Mowinkel studies the style of ancient Oriental royal inscriptions, especially Babylonian and Assyrian. They follow a fixed scheme, and enumerate, rather than narrate, in the third or first person a number of glorious deeds of the king. The style is said to be monumental ("exaggeration . . . oriental Americanism, sky-scraper art," p. 300), epigraphic, and sometimes rhythmical. This study is not objective: it was undertaken to prove that Nehemiah's memoirs follow the scheme of these royal inscriptions. Without denying that there was a standard form, the fact remains that the Assyrian inscriptions have peculiarities of their own both in language and style; these differences Mowinkel, searching for generalities, was bound to overlook.

P. Volz writes on the Holy Ghost (*Spenta Mainyu*) in the Gathas of Zarathustra. He is the good cosmic spirit in opposition to the evil one, the creator, and the mediator between God and man; he is not a mere attribute of Ahura Mazda, but an "hypostasis" among others. The obscure relations between this spirit and the supreme God, the logical contradiction between monotheistic and dualistic tendencies in this religion, leave the reader with the impression that the theology of Zarathustra was chaotic and muddled from the beginning: was the Iranian prophet really greater than Mohammed, as Volz says (p. 324)? His use of Jewish and Christian technical terms like "Holy Ghost" and "hypostasis" is not only unwarranted but misleading.

P. Kahle prints in Arabic transcription and German translation 226 texts illustrating the funeral customs of contemporary Egypt. These laments for the dead (*adid*) and funeral dances (*nabd*) come from Cairo (1-95), Tanta (96-171), and Luxor (172-226). The metre is best preserved in the third group. These pieces are interesting, not only philologically but also as survivals of ancient folk-lore.

Three excellent indexes add to the usefulness of the book.

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⁷ In redactional sections of Is. 40-48, Jer., and Am., and *only there* in the prophetic canon, God is the almighty creator (Is. 40, 12-14; 22; 26; 28; 42, 5; 44, 24; 45, 7; 12; 18; 48, 13; Jer. 10, 12 f.; 27, 5; 33, 25; Am. 4, 13; 5, 8 f.; 9, 5 f.), Babylonian gods are named (Is. 46, 1; Jer. 50, 2; 51, 44; Am. 5, 26), images are carried in procession (Is. 45, 20b; 46, 1; 7a; Jer. 10, 5; Am. 5, 26), idols are called a lie (Is. 44, 20; Jer. 10, 14; 16, 19; 51, 17 [*sheqer*]; Am. 2, 4 [*kazab*]). Other parallels between Is. 40-48 and Jer. could be pointed out (especially in the condemnation of idolatry, cf. Is. 44, 9-20; Jer. 10, 1-16).

II

The New Testament essays in ΕΤΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ aim to do honor to Professor Gunkel as the forerunner and founder of two schools of criticism — “*religionsgeschichtliche*” and “*formgeschichtliche Kritik*”. Strictly “*religionsgeschichtlich*” is the essay of Rudolf Bultmann on the background of the prologue of the Gospel of John. Independently of the work of Rendel Harris he emphasizes the influence of the Jewish wisdom-speculation, but distinguishes several theologumena — wisdom as the pre-existent creator, wisdom as the immanent knowledge of God’s will (for Jews equivalent to the law), and wisdom as the special historical agent of revelation. Though the last of these may go back to any one of several oriental religions, Alexandrian Judaism had combined them all, and perhaps had already substituted the name Logos for Wisdom. Bultmann is inclined to assign the immediate source of John’s prologue to the circle of followers of John the Baptist, who, he thinks, made an identification of John with the Logos which is here boldly transferred by the evangelist to Jesus and then emphasized by the addition of verses 6-8 and 15.

The essay on ‘Later Christian Apocalyptic’ is an introduction to a body of “*religionsgeschichtlich*” material. The author, Heinrich Weinel of Jena, is best known to English scholars by his book entitled “St. Paul, the Man and his Work.” The material discussed is a group of eighteen apocalyptic writings, heterogeneous in character, of uncertain or widely diverse date. Some of them have been edited by M. R. James. They are, however, little known, though they supplied much interesting material for Bousset’s “Antichrist Legend.” The author aims to provide an introduction to these writings comparable to the summaries accessible in German for Jewish Apocalyptic, giving a careful description of the contents and picking out all significant traits associated with apocalypse, legend, or folk-lore. The writings deal with heaven and hell and the angels, and show the fusion of gnostic speculation with apocalyptic. Christian asceticism is prominent. A few of them appear to be based on older Jewish writings.

Bruno Violet contributes a brief note on ‘The Cursing of the Fig Tree.’ He derives the present form of the narrative and conversation from an historical incident like Mark 14, 25. Jesus, already under the shadow of his approaching death, seeing some unripe figs on a tree, sadly observed: “The son of man shall never again enjoy fruit from

thee." In translation into Greek and in transmission the lament became a "curse": "Let no man eat fruit of thee henceforth," and the narrative was changed to suit the changed saying.

More extensive are the essays dealing with the criticism of the New Testament by criteria of style. The recent application of this method to the Synoptic Gospels was summarized in a recent article in the *Harvard Theological Review*.¹ In this volume the same method is extended to the associated writings, Acts and John. Martin Dibelius of Heidelberg attempts to classify by form and hence by origin the material in Acts. As in the gospels, the history of the material largely determined its form. The author has some freedom, is responsible, for example, for the speeches, but the forms and motives of his anecdotes, the continuous itinerary of the middle of the work, and many of the themes of his earlier narratives represent faithfully the deposit of a heterogeneous tradition behind him. 'The Narrative Style of John,' as described by Hans Windisch of Leyden, owes rather more to the individuality of the evangelist. Instead of the brief pericopes and parables characteristic of the Synoptic Gospels, the marked literary forms of the fourth evangelist are (1) stories told at length and dramatically arranged, (2) the association of narrative and controversial dialogue, and (3) series of connected scenes. To the first class belong, for example, the scene at Jacob's well, the healing of the blind man, the raising of Lazarus; the second class appears in chapters v and vi; the last class is well represented in chapter i. None of these forms is inherent in the material itself, nor do they appear to any considerable extent in the Synoptic Gospels. The Gospel of John is a literary work of art, *sui generis*, standing midway between a Synoptic type of gospel and a drama, a tragedy.

The longest and most far-reaching article is by K. L. Schmidt of Giessen, on 'The Place of the Gospels in General Literature.' His major effort is directed to the classification of the gospels among literary types, but the discussion of this leads to the consideration of many matters that affect the understanding of the New Testament. His conclusions, briefly put, are that the gospels are not to be classified by the standards of belles lettres, not even by such ancient works as Xenophon's *Memorabilia* or the biographies of Plutarch or Diogenes Laertius. Their material resembles rather popular literary forms, such as can be found in various languages wherever similar circumstances have produced spontaneous expression upon a corresponding level of

¹ Vol. XVI, January 1923, pp. 81 ff.

culture. Among the analogies adduced by Schmidt are the materials used for the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, early Christian legends of saints and monks, the legend of St. Francis of Assisi, the German folk-books on Doctor Faust. But the material in the gospels is not homogeneous, and the compositions defy simple classification, because they offer no real unity; they are not a story of Jesus but stories. Their several elements find their best parallels in diverse fields of writing, not necessarily contemporary with them. Hence every effort to place the gospels in any single or formal *genre* is futile and misleading.

These articles, especially the last, give us an insight into the significance of this new style in critical method. It is self-conscious in its newness, and somewhat impatient of those who follow older paths, especially of philologists, like Eduard Meyer, who make excursions into theological fields. Like all innovators, the "formgeschichtliche" are in danger of over exalting their tools or technique, like one who "sacrifices unto his net and burns incense unto his drag." Sometimes their labored observations on style seem obvious, and their science, so far as it is correct, is merely a branch of common sense. Nevertheless their extremes have at least the advantage of cancelling the extremes of some earlier schools of criticism. It is obvious that the analysis of biblical narratives by the standard of historical trustworthiness needs supplementing by the standard of form. Source-criticism, in the sense of explanation of the extant documents by theories of their written sources, requires correction through the consideration of the history of the previous unwritten material. Beside the personal influence of the ultimate editor, his aims, interests, and style, one must remember the formative effect of his underlying material and of the group-influences behind it. These corrections the new attitude undertakes to make. The real problem is to retain in proper proportion all the formative factors in a New Testament writing. The new school of critics is reminding us, with emphasis, of an often neglected factor. In the Gospel of John, for instance, the verisimilitude of the narratives has been accounted something either to be denied or to be accepted as a mark of historical value. Windisch suggests that the problem is largely literary. "It is the great paradox of this gospel that the same man who has created the new Christ-type freed from earth and history, who represents a divine Christ of heavenly origin as walking on earth and as teaching a transfigured gospel, the witness of the Son of God and his work, nothing more — that this same man, almost throughout, narrates in a more concrete, dramatic, imaginative, hu-

man, worldly, literary way than do the collectors of popular tradition" (pp. 211 f.).

With regard to Acts it is certain that criticism has been almost exclusively occupied with problems of authorship, historicity, and written sources. Even the discussion of the literary form of Luke's writings has been too much influenced by the formalia of prefaces and speeches, which seem to ally them with ancient historiography, while as a matter of fact the underlying popular material defied complete remoulding into formal history (pp. 132 f.).

These essays scarcely illustrate the application of *Formgeschichte* to detailed exegesis. Some suggestion of its bearing on the interpretation of gospel passages was offered by the earlier works of Schmidt and Bultmann. Rabbinic parallels from the same point of view are promised by Fiebig in his "Bergpredigt Jesu." An illustration of thorough and successful application of the method in a quite different field is to be found in Dibelius's commentary on James (Meyer's *Kommentar*, 7. Aufl., 1921). No doubt other works will follow, and we shall know the tree by its fruits, the tools by their products. Even for less technical study this school of criticism seems already to suggest some simple questions, the very putting of which illuminates the whole approach to the New Testament.

The volume concludes with a list of Professor Gunkel's writings.

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